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# ***New Republic***

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***THE ANSWER TO THE RIOTS IN ITALY***

**By CORRADO PALLENBERG**

## ***THE DARK SOUTH***

***FAINT STIRRINGS OF PROGRESSIVISM***

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MANAGING EDITOR: Edd Johnson

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STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Lew Frank Jr., Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Richard Watts Jr.

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TREASURER: Daniel Mebane

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

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## WASHINGTON WIRE

**M**AKE NO DOUBT of it, the Marshall Plan is in trouble. Cheers may be raised in the next fortnight over passage of stop-gap aid to France, Italy and Austria, but the real story in Congress is different. Stop-gap aid is just a trial run. The true struggle comes over the immensely larger, long-range ERP, or Marshall Plan. And this faces difficulties.

President Truman finally had to come forward and tell the facts—that ERP involves domestic sacrifices. Inflation reached the point where the public had to be told. As his comment took hold, you could practically see Congress flinch. ERP means “sacrifices”—in an election year! Some Democrats faltered and the whole GOP line, particularly in the House, seems wavering.

What has shocked observers most is the little noticed vote in the Senate last Wednesday which, on the face of it, looked like an Administration victory. A GOP economy move to cut the \$597 million stop-gap program to \$400 million was defeated, 56 to 30. The vote showed correspondents that they had grossly underestimated the opposition. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg's (R, Mich.) committee had recommended the full amount. Yet the Senate Republicans voted only 27 to 20 for the full amount (Democrats favored it, 29 to 10). Three GOP leaders, Taft (Ohio), Wherry (Nebr.) and Millikin (Colo.), all voted for the cut, although Vandenberg and Senator Wallace H. White Jr. (R, Maine) said it would ruin the bill.

**Where it hurts.** Marriner Eccles, Federal Reserve Board head, hooked his toes behind the legs of his witness chair, bent forward in his blue, double-breasted suit and read his comments on inflation to the Joint Economic Committee. He read slowly and emphatically, like a school-teacher,

objected to interruptions, wagged his finger occasionally at Taft, and proceeded to kick the shins of practically every big lobby and vested interest in Washington.

This slight, shy, unpredictable Mormon from Utah is as expert a shinkicker as anybody we know. Before he concluded he had taken to task Big Business, the real-estate and farm lobbies, Congress itself, the steel industry, labor unions and, inferentially, chairman Taft. Essence of his testimony: the higher prices go, the bigger the fall; inflation controls are desperately needed to keep a “disaster” from turning into a “cataclysm.” Eccles felt safe as he made his attacks; true, irked adversaries can get even when his 14-year term expires, but they will have to wait till 1958.



**GOP revolt?** As predicted, the first angry screams over the Truman inflation-control program are subsiding, and level-headed Republicans are realizing that they must offer some constructive alternative. But what? Nobody knows. An interesting fission appears in the party—a sort of East-West division, like the Democrats' North-South split.

There is even talk of a “revolt,” but it is still mostly talk, though Senator George D. Aiken (Vt.) bluntly called on party chairman Carroll Reece to resign. Reece, a Taft man, had been opposed for the chairmanship by supporters of Stassen and Dewey.

When Taft shouted “totalitarian” against Truman's proposed controls, fatuous Reece followed up with a characteristic me-too comment that controls would mean “a cop in every kitchen.” Progressive Republicans find it easier to kick Reece than Taft.

Taft represents the GOP “Old Guard.” Pitted against him on the control issue is an able group of Republican Easterners, mostly from New England: Aiken and Flanders (Vt.),



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Tobey (N. H.), Baldwin (Conn.), Smith (N. J.), Cooper (Ky.).

These are capable, "sound" men, oddly different temperamentally from the brilliant West Coast Republican liberal, Wayne Morse (Ore.). But they agree with him that something drastic has to be done about prices. They are united, too, for internationalism, as against the Taft-Wherry-Millikin brand of Midwest quasi-isolationism. It is significant, for example, that not a single Republican New Englander voted to trim stop-gap aid last Wednesday. The division in the Republican Party is worth watching.

**Turnabouts.** Republican Senator Smith (N. J.), co-chairman of a committee which investigated US-Russian propaganda in Europe last summer, plans to introduce a bill boosting the appropriation for the muted "Voice of America" and allied programs to \$40 or \$45 million. In fact the "Voice," which was the orphan of the last session, will be the darling of the next. It shows what happens when a lot of congressmen go abroad.

**Notes.** The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* is making one of its famous campaigns, this time against an AT&T drive for higher rates, which should interest every telephone user; the paper gives elaborate figures to show the "parasitic" nature of the parent holding company. . . . Truman's pardon of Boston's convict Mayor James M. Curley was sordid, blatant politics; an unhappy reminder of the coming election year. . . . To date GOP leaders Taft, Dewey, Stassen, Vandenberg and Speaker Martin have lined up for more aid to Chiang Kai-shek, against the better judgment of Secretary Marshall. . . . Washington is holding its political breath for the new "M-Day" when Douglas A. MacArthur arrives back from Tokyo. . . . Advocates of ending US exports to Russia haven't discovered yet that we get much of our manganese and most of our chrome from Russia; these, incidentally, are essential munitions components.

Washington

T. R. B.

**THE WEEK**

**T**HE Reverend Peter Marshall, chaplain of the Senate, opened a session on interim European aid last week with the following prayer:

"Remind us, our Father, that when we plug in an electric iron and it fails to work, we do not conclude that electricity has lost its power, nor do we plead with the iron. We look at once to the wiring to find what has broken or blocked connection with the source of power."

**A SCATTERED ATTACK**

**Pulling.** One by one, members of President Truman's cabinet repudiated his anti-inflation program last week. After each completed his confused, uncoordinated testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, chairman Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) made his point merely by asking, "What is the Administration's program?"

Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder told the committee that there is no need for increased bank reserves (point one in the Truman program). On the very same day, Federal Reserve Board chairman Marriner Eccles testified that this was the only one of Truman's 10 points that would do much to stop inflation.

Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson flatly opposed the President's request for power to force marketing of livestock at low weight and low grades (point five). It would take price ceilings to enforce that one, Anderson told the hearings, and he was against them, Truman's message to the contrary notwithstanding. The real inflationary threat, Anderson dared to say, was the State Department, which insisted on shipping additional grain to Europe!

Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman contented himself with denying that the President had any serious

intention of using the powers he was requesting to allocate and fix prices on scarce commodities.

**Hauling.** It is hard to imagine how the Administration could have got off to a worse start in presenting its program against inflation. The main reason seems to be Truman's reluctance to make his own cabinet support him.

As of now, there is no general commanding the Administration's price fight. Secretary Harriman was designated to organize the testimony before Congress and to pull together the legislative proposals to be presented later on. His department says that it is merely drawing up the list of witnesses.

The Budget Bureau has been urging a single piece of legislation to implement the whole 10-point program. The Harriman lawyers favor a piecemeal approach.

Nor is there any coordination between the government agencies and the Democrats in Congress. There is no strategy board combining the two groups. No congressional leaders have been selected to direct the tactical fight on Capitol Hill.

**"... beyond the call of duty"**

THE *Official Gazette* in London announces that for distinguished service and gallantry in action, the Distinguished Service Cross has been awarded to three officers, the Distinguished Conduct Medal to six enlisted men, and "mention in dispatches" to 22 men of assorted ranks. All 31 men were members of naval parties that "boarded" Jewish immigrant ships off Palestine. Two of the three officers honored with the DSC were of the party that seized the *Exodus* 1947. The DSC, one of Britain's most cherished military decorations, is normally given for heroism "above and beyond the call of duty."

Without an economic general, without strategy and planning to carry out his program, the President lays himself open to charges of bad faith and playing cheap campaign politics.

**STASSEN KEEPS RUNNING**

**"Fine."** Harold Stassen thinks he's "doing fine." In a two-week hunt, primarily in the South, he believes he has bagged 54 delegates for the Republican nominating convention. Adding these to the 100 from the Midwest, he figures his chances of lasting a couple of rounds in the convention are good.

Thanks to Amos J. Peaslee, a New Jersey lawyer, and D. Walter Swan, a public-relations man for United Airlines, his companions on the chartered plane, the campaign trip was beautifully managed.

In a short stop in Mississippi, Stassen began negotiations to establish a rival delegation to the one which has been in the saddle for years. That may produce eight precious votes. And Texas Republicans assured him they were still open to persuasion.

In Arkansas he found a loophole in the state election laws which may let him get 14 more delegates. In Saint Petersburg, Florida, he attracted the largest Republican gathering since the Civil War. Chances are said to be good that he will have six or more of Florida's 16 convention votes.

**Till "He" returns.** The current tour ended in Milwaukee. Republican leaders told him apologetically that they would wait to see what MacArthur did before pledging themselves finally.

Before he began the trip, Stassen said he would not run for Vice President. But the politicians point out that he steered clear of Ohio and rumors persist that "high-level" conversations have been held between Stassen and

Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio), and Stassen and Eisenhower supporters.

When the trip was over, reporters noticed that the candidate had declared the same things too often. His backers say that if they can just keep him running fast enough, maybe no one will notice.

### SZILARD'S UNSENT LETTER

**Idea.** The Hungarian-born physicist Leo Szilard ("Father of the Atomic Bomb") has published a letter to

Stalin, the gist of which is this: Unless countersteps are taken, anti-Russian feeling will soon crystallize in the mind of the American public, and any time thereafter the irresponsible action of "some Yugoslav general in the Balkans or some American admiral in the Mediterranean" will set the fuse to the powder keg. The most effective counterstep, Szilard suggests, would be to have Stalin explain to the American people by radio talks what the Russian demands are for a general postwar settlement. He proposes further a series of unofficial meetings be-

tween the scientists of the US, Russia and other countries, to exchange ideas instead of secrets.

**"Improper."** To avoid violation of the Logan Act of 1799, which forbids a US citizen from communicating with a foreign power on state matters, Szilard sent a copy of the proposed letter to Attorney General Tom Clark, who soon thereafter informed him that the Attorney General was not in the habit of advising private citizens, and Szilard, if in need of enlightenment, might consult his own lawyer. Attached to the letter, however, was an opinion from Undersecretary of State Lovett opining that Szilard's letter would be improper.

Accordingly, the letter was not sent to Stalin but was reprinted in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, alongside a condensation of a memorandum Szilard had prepared for Roosevelt on whether or not to drop atomic bombs on Japan. Both the memo and the letter have a prophetic quality. Perhaps they will be read carefully and regretfully a few years hence.

### Food Plan in a Desk Drawer

**P**RESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE to the special session of Congress contained a vague request for "measures designed to increase the production of food in foreign countries." Actually, there was more than met the ear in that passing reference.

Although food is our favorite weapon of diplomacy, the US, now providing 50 percent of world grain exports, can't continue indefinitely to be the world's pantry. With 10 years of bumper crops behind us, the weather odds are getting longer. Our soil is being depleted, by forced-draft cultivation, at the rate of a half-million acres yearly. And the drain on our supplies for export shipment tends to contribute to inflationary forces.

The problem, therefore, is how to give "monetary incentives" to foreign farmers to get them to boost their output. Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson stated the problem gingerly to Senator Robert A. Taft's (R, Ohio) Joint Committee on the Economic Report and to the New York Board of Trade, and he offered a timid solution. He asked authority to permit the department, through the Commodity Credit Corporation, to enter into "procurement arrangements" with agencies of foreign countries. Such a plan would underwrite purchases abroad at planting

instead of harvest time, thus stimulating production rather than prices.

**Program.** But in one of its desk drawers the Department of Agriculture has a bolder plan—to extend to foreign farmers the price-floor system US farmers enjoy on basic food crops.

In Western Hemisphere countries and in the Far East, farmers are holding down acreage in fear of poor prices and surpluses. If they knew the US Government would buy at fair prices all they could not otherwise sell, they would plant their heads off to harvest the good green dollars.

In Europe, where farmers are holding back because of a lack of faith in the local currencies, which don't buy much in the way of commodities, the plan would be to guarantee payment in US goods. That would be very tricky, legally and politically. It would also cost a pretty penny.

Backers of the plan believe it would cost less, however, than buying the same amount of calories at home and shipping them abroad. They see it as a necessary backstop to the European Recovery Program. But no official of the Department of Agriculture is going to ballyhoo the plan unless some encouragement comes from Congress.

JAN HASBROUCK

### AT THE MOOSE LODGE

CASPER, WYO. (NR correspondent)

**No contest.** The Women of the Moose recently staged a child-popularity contest. Mrs. Effie May Gray, young wife of a hospitalized war veteran, was invited to enter her son, attractive three-year-old Ronnie. She accepted the invitation and she and a neighbor sold many contest tickets, based on the buying of US savings bonds.

Then Mrs. Gray was notified that she would have to withdraw Ronnie. She did so, got her money back, returned it to the people who had bought bonds from her, but could not resist writing a sad little note to a Denver newspaper. Mrs. Roscoe Howard, another young mother, reported similar treatment.

The incident became tangled in cover-up and apology. The Casper Moose at first denied any Moose sponsorship, then blamed the women of the auxiliary. The Women of the Moose blamed the promoter.

Finally the lodge and the auxiliary issued a joint statement, saying in part: "The precepts of the Moose Lodge are based upon tolerance, brotherhood and individual and community service. Any . . . discrimination was without the knowledge, consent or authority of Moose Lodge 1182, or Women of the Moose, Chapter 306."

Nevertheless, the contest was completed without Ronnie. You see, he had seemed about to win, and that would never do. For Ronnie and his mother (and the Howards) are what, in a community less refined than Casper and less sensitive to racial discrimination, is sometimes called "colored."

### ATTENTION DR. HUTCHINS

CHICAGO (NR correspondent)

**Answer.** At a recent meeting on education for democracy, the outspoken chancellor of the University of Chicago, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, told his audience that "education for democracy cannot be achieved while racial and religious discrimination are practised. As far as I know, racial and religious discrimination do not occur at the University of Chicago. If anyone hears or knows of any case of this sort, I would like to have it reported to me personally and immediately."

On a Tuesday night, 400 Chicago students told the chancellor in a short-notice rally that discrimination was indeed being practised at the University of Chicago, and that something had better be done about it.

The students had the goods—a carefully compiled pamphlet containing copies of affidavits gathered over a six-month period. The rally, sponsored by the university chapters of the American Veterans' Committee and the Committee on Racial Equality, told all who would listen that the recently appropriated \$500,000 grant for work in promoting racial equality should be used in cleaning up the university's own back yard.

The affidavits stated that Negroes were encountering great difficulty in gaining admission to the university-owned and operated Billings Hospital and that there had not been a Negro

### Heroes Must Pay

MOSCOW (NR correspondent)

**BACK TO NORMALCY NOTE:** Free railroad rides, boat trips, trolley-car passage, reduced rent and monthly cash stipends, which holders of Soviet medals and orders have hitherto been entitled to, have been abolished as of January 1.

A new decree of the Supreme Soviet applies alike to military and civilian heroes, with the single exception of those holding the "Order of Glory."

Adding to the interest is the explanation by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet that the step is being taken "in response to numerous requests by the wearers of medals and orders" themselves.

medical student admitted to the university since 1941. In emergency cases, and at the patients' insistence, some Negroes have been admitted to the hospital, but they have been made to take private, segregated rooms.

This, along with the avowed university practice of upholding restrictive covenants to protect the Chicago-owned property in the well-to-do Hyde Park "tension area," gave university administrators something to think about.

The outcome of the rally was a resolution to end discrimination in Billings and prohibit it in a newly planned cancer-research hospital; and a promise from the chancellor, by letter, to meet all protesting organizations for an interview, presumably to do something about it.

### "TOUGH ISSUE"

**Responsibility.** While corporations pile up unprecedented profits and try to screw the lid on wages, a group of 60 St. Louis electrical workers has voluntarily accepted a 50-cent-an-hour wage cut in the interests of its employers.

Vice-president Frank W. Jacobs of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) says the decrease will drop his men's wages from \$1.60 to \$1.10, the level prevalent among similar workers elsewhere. "With changes in production meth-

ods," he explained, "St. Louis manufacturers were being penalized by the high wage scale. It was a tough issue to face . . . but [the wage cut] was accepted finally by our members as a union responsibility to correct an inequity."

### BRANCH-HEAD POLITICS

**Report.** Big Jim Folsom, six-foot-six ex-GI who sang himself into Alabama's stately old Governor's mansion last year with the support of the long neglected "little folks," is back on the road again. For five weeks now, on an average of four times a day, he has been giving his "first annual report" to the people who elected him. He tells them frankly that he has failed them. But he also tells them why.

The "why" is the old story of moss-hung Southern conservatives operating a feudal political system largely on behalf of Northern capitalists. There are Big Steel in Birmingham, Big Oil in Mobile, Big Lumber and Big Textiles elsewhere.

Folsom snatched the Democratic primary (*i.e.*, the election) by smart showmanship and a sound program of social legislation. He toured the "branch heads" (rural areas) promising to match federal highway grants with \$40 million of local bond money backed by gasoline taxes.

He sang, he wielded a mop as a symbol of his determination to get "Mr. Gotrocks" out of the seats of power, and his hillbilly band, "The Strawberry Pickers," got out the crowds. But they didn't vote for a vaudeville act; they voted for old-age pensions, the abolition of sales taxes and the setting of minimum salaries for teachers.

**Industry worried.** The state legislature, solidly controlled by the Messrs. Gotrocks, blocked almost all of Folsom's program. And Big Jim is out to tell his constituents just who did what, naming names.

Alabama's industry is becoming alarmed. As the Folsom "report to the folks" headed for the black belt in the Southern counties, the annual meeting

of the state Chamber of Commerce planned a campaign to "convince the people of Alabama . . . that we are not two classes fighting against each other for the greatest number of dollars."

### BATTLING BUSINESSMAN

**"Dave."** Although he is president of a New York corporation (Shell Products, Inc.) that does a \$1 million-a-year business, 45-year-old David Kay doesn't think like a big shot. His employees call him "Dave," can walk into his handsome office any time with their problems, and rely on the boss for a loan in a family emergency. Perhaps it is because Kay still remembers when, as a Polish immigrant kid, he used to sell papers on the lower East Side and battle the neighborhood gangs that tried to shove him off his street corner.

Since then Kay has always hated a bully. Whenever he sees people getting pushed around he instinctively starts swinging. But now he uses a typewriter instead of his fist. During the past year, Kay has been writing editorials lambasting anti-Semites, profiteers, war criminals, etc., and running them as paid advertisements (\$600 each) in the *New York Post*.

**Socko!** Kay's latest victims were J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.) and his House Committee on Un-American Activities. A full-page ad in the *Post* declared in slugging, gashouse style any reader could understand that "the Committee may *not* inquire into the religious or political beliefs of anyone. . . . MANY OF US have been vaguely disturbed for years over the Un-American Committee's nibbling away at our civil liberties. But it's stopped *nibbling* now. It likes the taste of usurped power, and is biting big chunks that can only get bigger if we don't stop it. . . . So let's stop being so damned inarticulate. Let's holler more. . . . Let's whack 'em in the skulls with our most powerful weapon of defense—the American Constitution!"

The spectacle of a big businessman who tells off GOP congressmen this way brings a big response from New Yorkers. Each Kay ad evokes thousands

of enthusiastic letters, most of which thank him for printing the kind of editorial they'd like to publish if they had the money.

One who does not approve of Kay's journalistic efforts, however, is Alexander Fraser, president of the mammoth Shell Union Oil Corporation and a solid Republican citizen of long standing. Because many readers assume Kay's Shell Products, Inc., is connected with Shell Oil, Fraser has to spend a lot of valuable time proving that he isn't somehow responsible for these radical-sounding philippics. A Shell Oil publicity man tells callers that there has been a mistake; that Kay's Shell Products, Inc., makes but-

tons and novelties out of sea shells which have nothing in common with petroleum deposits.

Fraser has even put pressure on his button-manufacturing neighbor to change the 12-year-old name of his concern. But Kay has no intention of yielding. "Anyway, it's good business for Fraser," he says. "We get lots of letters from people who say they're going to switch to Shell gas because they like our editorials."

Kay is not sure what effect his editorials have on his own business; he doesn't much care. "We do okay," he says. "Buttons are a staple you can use almost anywhere—except on people's lips."

## UN NEWS: The Assembly's Record

**W**HEN the General Assembly opened 11 weeks ago, the *New Republic* admitted that the success or failure of the session must be measured in terms of action taken on Palestine, since that question is not strictly a clash of US-USSR interests. Now, by the necessary two-thirds majority, the Assembly has recommended that Palestine be partitioned into separate Jewish and Arab states following termination of the British mandate.

Britain will hand over to a UN commission the powers she has held, and this commission will supervise the machinery providing for economic unity, free elections, minority rights, boundary irregularities and other problems which may arise before next October when the new states themselves assume responsibility.

Although the UN commission receives its powers from the General Assembly, the Security Council will handle any "threat to the peace." This gives the UN added power and recognizes the problem of implementation, which has always been the major difficulty in any partition proposal.

Implementation has not been simplified by Britain's attitude of non-coöperation, maintained despite the fact that the mandatory power originally requested a UN solution. Nor is

implementation simplified by the vote (33 for, 13 against, 10 abstentions and one country, Siam, absent), encouraged as it was by a United States decision to advocate partition without lobbying for votes. Thanksgiving Day served the practical purpose of switching doubtful votes. Until that time the US had done no lobbying.

**Last-minute moves.** When the Assembly adjourned for the holiday, partition hung on the votes of such US followers as the Philippines, Paraguay, Greece, Haiti and Liberia. The Philippines had received no early US instructions and had not participated in the committee vote. On Thanksgiving Eve, the full Assembly learned that the Philippines would oppose partition. Haiti and Greece switched from abstention to no. Liberia and Paraguay were still undecided. By the time the Assembly reconvened after the holiday, Paraguay, the Philippines and Haiti were definitely in the pro-partition column. Greece remained anti-partition, and Liberia admitted cryptically that the US could get what it wanted (Liberia voted for partition).

Clearly these changes were due solely to US pressure. Less directly, the US whipped Western Europe into line. Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Bel-

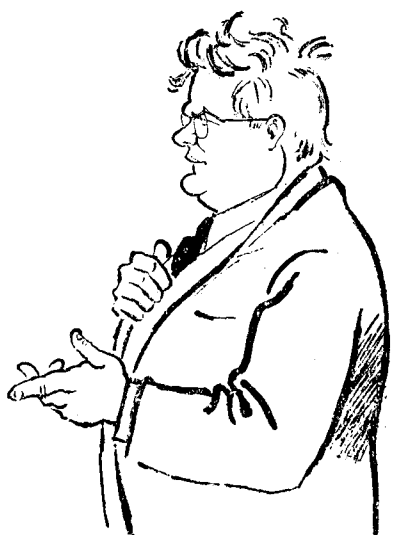
gium all switched from abstention to yes. Even France, which had played a pussyfooting role all along, promised to vote for partition. The entire Soviet bloc, except Yugoslavia, was supporting partition, and when Yugoslavia canceled a speech, which most observers felt would switch her vote from abstention to yes, it presumably meant that partition was in.

Then without warning France requested a 24-hour adjournment to work out conciliation proposals. The adjournment was approved. France had argued all along that a large Moslem population in Morocco was preventing her support of partition. China used her 20 million Moslems to bolster a similar argument, and did in fact abstain on the vote. US pressure had apparently convinced the French that their vote was necessary. France also knew that conciliation was impossible. Her last-minute move was merely a method of telling the Arabs that France had done as much as possible for the Arab cause before voting for partition.

In any case, the adjournment did nothing to hurt the proponents of partition on the final vote. This maneuvering did, however, reduce the strength of the majority and the moral effect of the partition recommendation. In all cases it was done to retain Arab friendship, a fact which may hinder the implementation of partition.

Nevertheless partition went through—and with the US and the USSR supporting it. In UN language such action is called “unanimity,” for unanimity now means agreement between the United States and Russia rather than agreement among the Big Five.

**Greece.** Here was a *cause célèbre* for the US. We refused to accept any responsibility for trouble in the Balkans, nor would we admit that the Greek government might have something to do with the situation. Instead, a permanent border commission was forced through the Assembly over strong protests from the Slav states, which are now boycotting the body. It is unlikely that this present attempt to rectify successive Soviet vetoes in the Security Council on the Greek question will



DRAWING BY KELEN

HERBERT V. EVATT

have any great or lasting success. A political problem with such long and deep roots is not necessarily solved by the frequent application of power politics.

**The veto.** The *New Republic* predicted that this subject would be noisy but unproductive. Because everyone realized this before the Assembly opened, the US cleverly moved to bypass rather than eliminate the veto. This was done because the US wishes, as much as Russia does, to retain the veto—but would also like to win small-nation support by seeming to oppose its extreme uses.

The “Little Assembly” was therefore proposed and pushed through. It will function until the next session and will discuss the veto as such. It will also handle matters which might ordinarily come before the Council, such as reports from the new Balkan Commission and from the new Korean Commission appointed to supervise free elections in Korea. The Soviet bloc is boycotting not only the Balkan group, but the Korean Commission and the “Little Assembly.” These boycotts inevitably hamper the effectiveness of all three.

The Assembly did make one further attempt to limit use of the veto by recommending that membership applications from Transjordan and Italy be reconsidered. Andrei Gromyko, who had previously vetoed these applications, announced that the position of

his country had not altered. Clearly, the veto clause in the Charter and use of the veto in the Security Council will not be changed. The US has therefore decided that the logical alternative is to by-pass the veto whenever necessary.

**Sore spot.** Spain has been a sore spot since the formation of the UN, but this year the world organization finally accepted Franco as a going and possibly agreeable concern. The US was among the nations which opposed reaffirmation of last year's Assembly resolution, a mild document suggesting the withdrawal of ambassadors from Madrid. The Assembly, by one vote, failed to take a stand against fascism this year and, to all intents, the Spanish question is now dead.

**Minorities.** Discrimination against racial minorities is a serious charge. Without denying the truth of the allegation, the Union of South Africa has attempted to justify the practice, in so far as its Indian residents are concerned.

Last year the Assembly suggested that India confer with the Union and bring the matter into line with the Charter. Nothing was done, and this year the Assembly, instead of strengthening last year's stand, took no action at all. The US, using that old technique of advocating a ruling on the question from the International Court of Justice, had a hand in the final action. Clearly these highly legalistic arguments are a delaying technique. Nobody was fooled, but South Africa was acquitted.

**The budget.** As the *New Republic* predicted, the budget was drastically cut. Trygve Lie's original request for \$39.4 million was finally pared down to \$32.5 million (plus \$1,250,000 for the work of the “Little Assembly” and the Balkan and Korean Commissions). In many cases cuts were warranted and the recurrent argument was a legitimate one: no dollars. Nevertheless, the fact that some 200 permanent UN employees will be fired indicates that the functions and efficiency of the United Nations will be seriously impaired.

JANE BEDELL

## Rankin Puts It Plainly

by William Walton

**O**N MONDAY, November 24, the Congress of the United States considered a grave issue. Sonorous and impressive words echoed through the House. Some were to the point; most were traditional wind.

During the long hours of debate only once was the veil pulled aside on reality: the House was given a glimpse of the horrid things crawling around under this matter of whether to cite 10 Hollywood motion-picture writers and directors for contempt.

The realist was John E. Rankin (D, Miss.). With a fistful of papers, the raspy heir to Huey Long and Senator Theodore Bilbo rose in defense of his friend, J. Parnell Thomas.

"Here is a petition sent to Congress condemning the Committee on Un-American Activities," he declaimed. "I am going to read some of the names of the people on that petition."

Rankin spoke forcefully in his harsh voice, peering over the top of his spectacles to see what effect his words were having. The crowded House listened attentively.

The Un-American Activities Committee, he said, is trying to protect America from "these people . . . who want to undermine and destroy this republic, to destroy American institutions and to bring to the *Christian* people of America" murder and plunder. On the word "Christian" he placed heavy emphasis.

**Black list.** In tones of sarcasm and contempt, he drawled off a list of movie actors, inserting after each the actor's natal name. His list had been carefully culled. Only those whose born names sounded Jewish or very, very foreign were included—names like Kamisky, Iskowitz and Goldenberg. Each one was dwelt on venomously. After each he paused and peered around to see if his unspoken point was understood. It was.

Bliedung, Baraniev and Hesselberg, these are foreigners and Jews, he was saying. These are the only ones who object to the J. Parnell Thomas investigations. That was his unmistakable implication.

Ignored was the fact that actors have always chosen—or had chosen for them—romantic stage names. And ignored too was the more important American precept that all races, nationalities and religions have been absorbed happily into the creation of our country.

With mock sympathy for their plight, Rankin spoke of "the unfortunate Christian people of Europe," again lingering over the word "Christian." That was all. Contentedly, John Rankin sat down.

The House had received his anti-Semitic speech with intense interest and silence. Perhaps the silence was

shocked, perhaps only interested. At all events, no voice rose in protest.

Ponderously the House continued its business, voting to cite each of the 10 Hollywood victims for contempt.

Small wonder that a few days later the movie producers, many of whose names are Schenck and Selznick and Mayer and the like, quickly tried to dissociate themselves from such company as those under attack. All 10 must be fired, they decreed.

Abjectly the producers lined themselves up with J. Parnell Thomas. Without fair trial, Thomas had deprived the men of their good names. The producers deprived them of their livelihoods.

And perhaps worst of all was the fact that the movie producers by their craven capitulation had made the weapon in J. Parnell Thomas' hands more evilly efficient. Now all he needs do is haul victims before his committee by the hundreds and they are *kaput*. The producers have helped tie their own noose.



THE NEW DIRECTOR

DRAWING BY NED HILTON

## THEY CALL IT NEO-FASCISM

ROME (by air courier)

**A** MAN best known by the *nom-de-bataille* of "The Bishop" has been captured by the Italian police after a long chase, tried by a Roman court, convicted of being a Fascist and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. But a general political amnesty applied to the case, so the sentence has been set aside and "The Bishop" is free.

The arrest, conviction and release of this man are typical of the present political situation, for "The Bishop" is Augusto Turati, once right-hand man of Benito Mussolini and Secretary General of the Fascist Party, more recently chief "spiritual" leader and master theoretician of the Neo-Fascists.

The Italian government talks anti-fascism, but the laws implementing the talk are full of loopholes and the methods of applying them are lax. The result is that neo-fascism, sometimes working in underground organizations, sometimes in overt grabs for political power, is increasing its following throughout Italy today.

**Trickery?** The government of Alcide de Gasperi maintains that current Communist agitation in this country is little more than wanton political trickery, unjustified by the realities of the present situation. Spokesmen for the Christian Democratic Party brand the Communist-led strikes and disturbances either as the makings of a bid to seize power by force or as an effort to embarrass the present government and to frighten the US Congress out of supporting ERP.

The Communists, on the other hand, make no bones about the use of force, but insist they are not using it to play political games. Says Palmiro Togliatti, "The working masses are on democratic ground when they resort to manifestations of violence to avert even the embryonic danger of fascism."

Whichever side may be right, neo-fascism is riding higher than at any

by Corrado Pallenberg

time since the demise of Mussolini.

What is neo-fascism? Recently I went to the Neo-Fascist headquarters in Rome and asked for an authoritative exposition of the movement's aims. I was given a typewritten statement which, I was told, was written personally by "The Bishop."

**Comeback.** Here are some sentences: "Fascists want to be admitted within the democratic framework with the same freedom assured to all other citizens. It is historically absurd to try to eradicate fascism completely. Italy's unity dates back only 75 years, and of these one-third were represented by fascism. So we must use all that is good and vital in the Fascist regime both from the viewpoint of institutions and of men. Fascism has its place in the history of political doctrines, and some of its accomplishments have been praised all over the world."

At the offices of *La Rivolta Ideale*, the largest of the Neo-Fascist newspapers, the editor, Giovanni Tonelli, gave me the program of the Italian Social Movement, which in a few weeks will be one year old.

The party platform, Tonelli told me, stood for abolition of all anti-Fascist laws. Other planks were: a republic on the "American pattern," but with strong power in the hands of the president; strengthening of the authority of the state at the expense of political parties; replacement of the political parliament by one representing a "corporative" system that is based on economic interests instead of free political suffrage.

These goals, of course, are identical with the old Fascist ones, but the Neo-Fascists prefer to call attention to the fact that they resemble those of another modern "movement"—General Charles de Gaulle's Rally of the French People.

Postwar neo-fascism began before the end of the fighting. The first secret organization was founded in

Naples in the autumn of 1943 by Prince Valerio Pignatelli, who later was arrested. The next ones, *consigli di gestione* (factory-management committees), were set up behind the German lines in the north. Subsequently the Fascist Democratic Party of Milan was created.

Since the liberation of the north, these organizations have been operating underground. Their leader is Carlo Scorza, former party secretary, a good organizer full of nerve and drive, who travels secretly all over the country establishing contacts among groups. Twice he escaped arrest by a matter of seconds. A recent secret-police report estimated that the groups have between 200,000 and 400,000 "activist" members.

The organization gets funds from pro-Fascist industrialists and from Falangists in Spain and Argentina.

In addition to their political cadres, believed to number in the hundreds and to be situated all over the country, the secret Neo-Fascists have armed military bodies. Of these the most important (at least of the ones known) are the SAM (Mussolini Action Squads) and the FAR (Fascies of Revolutionary Action).

**In the open.** The political amnesty of 1946 had an important influence on the development of neo-fascism. While it gave the secret organizations many new members, it also hurt their conspiratorial appeal, since more Fascists were able to move about openly.

The result was a shift in the emphasis of Fascist resurgence from secret to open methods. In this change Turati was a principal figure. To win the border-liners, he exploited the fact that he had been expelled from the Fascist Party in the last years of the regime. Naturally, he did not remind anyone that he had been kicked out because he had been found guilty of having immoral relations with 12-year-old girls.

While the secret Neo-Fascist organizations were becoming less secret and more bold, the more politically minded

Corrado Pallenberg is an Italian journalist.

of the leaders tried in three ways to achieve open political recognition.

**Three tries.** The first was an effort to conquer from within L'Uomo Qualunque, the Common Man Front Party, founded by Guglielmo Giannini, a Neapolitan playwright and political playboy. Without calling himself a Fascist, Giannini made a bid for Fascist support by using his newspaper to criticize everything connected with democracy. In the election of June, 1946, his party won 30 out of 556 seats in the Constituent Assembly, and in the autumn municipal elections it became the strongest party in Rome.

But success went to Giannini's head and he decided he was strong enough to challenge and defeat the really tough Neo-Fascists who were gradually taking his party away from him.

The result was that they left him and started their own organization under the leadership of a more frank Neo-Fascist, Bernardo Patrissi (the NR, October 13, 1947). And it's a sign of the trend in neo-fascism that under the control of less bold adventurers and opportunists than the Patrissi gang, the Common Man Front Party is going on the political rocks (see Foreign Press, page 35).

A second attempt by the Neo-Fascists to get out into the open in a bid for power was made by Alberto Giovannini, who had been a well known journalist in Mussolini's "Fas-

cist Republic." He came to Rome and founded a weekly, *Rosso e Nero* (Red and Black), in which he preached reconciliation of Fascists and Socialists.

Negotiations actually were begun between Neo-Fascists and Socialists. Giovannini based his arguments on Mussolini's early record as a Socialist and said he would return to that "early" fascism which, he maintained, was pro-labor and pro-progress.

But when the Socialists actually looked into the situation, they found that Giovannini was merely a spokesman for the big, powerful, nationalistic, anti-progressive Neo-Fascists who wanted an "alliance" with the Socialists only to smash any possible cooperation between the Socialists and the Communists. On the basis of these facts, Giovannini was arrested, sent into political confinement and his newspaper was closed down.

These two fiascos taught the Neo-Fascists a lesson—there was no use trying to work with or through another political party. Moreover, by the end of last year the political "atmosphere" had changed—the worsening of the clash between the US and the Soviet Union and all the consequences of that fact had made anti-communism so accepted, even so "fashionable," that anyone who professed to be anti-Communist, even an avowed Fascist, could "get by."

So the third, and most successful, effort was made: the Italian Social

Movement was founded in Rome on December 26, 1946—or rather it was officially constituted, since it had existed "in embryo" before then. In name and in official utterance, the "movement" never goes so far as Turati could in secret statements of aim. This is so because an article of the forthcoming Italian Constitution, already adopted by the Constituent Assembly, expressly bans fascism.

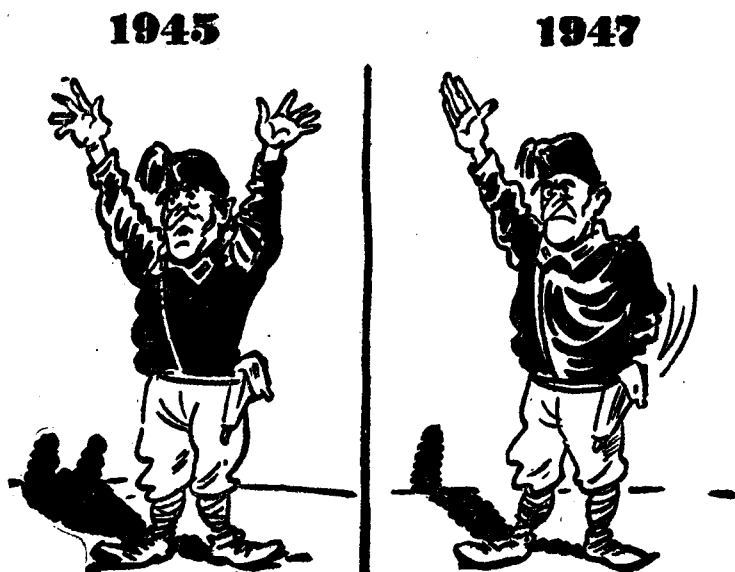
**New party.** Nevertheless, the law does not ban fascism by another name; nor do the lawmakers, obsessed by dread of communism, crack down on anti-Communists who (not incidentally) "happen" to be Neo-Fascists. The result is that the Neo-Fascists have a flourishing party.

Tonelli, one of the leaders, is really only a stooge for a far more powerful figure. He is Ezio Maria Gray, a former member of Mussolini's cabinet, newspaper editor and radio propagandist during the Fascist regime. The number of members of the "movement" is kept a strict secret, but Tonelli told me it has more than 500 "sections" throughout the country.

The Neo-Fascists also have a flourishing press. The seven large newspapers they run are their strongest weapon. The most important is *La Rivolta Ideale*, a Rome weekly which reached a circulation of 140,000. Although Tonelli edits it, Gray dictates its policies, and a crowd of Neo-Fascists contribute articles, mostly under assumed names.

Other Neo-Fascist newspapers are Patrissi's Rome daily *Ora d'Italia* and the Rome weeklies *Idea Nuova* and *Rataplan*. Milan has the daily *Meridiano d'Italia*, Palermo the daily *Corriere Espresso*, Naples the weekly *La Ruota* and Bari the weekly *Manifesto*.

These are the publications whose offices have been attacked by Communists in the demonstrations during the past fortnight. The Communists also smashed branch headquarters of Gray's, Giannini's and Patrissi's organizations. As a matter of fact, except for a few gathering places of Monarchists and right-wing Liberals, nearly all the Communist targets appear to have been Neo-Fascists.



AN ITALIAN COMMENT ON THE RESURGENCE OF THE BLACKSHIRTS

## THE NAZIS WHO NEVER LEFT GREECE

**C**OLONEL A. W. SHEPPARD is an Australian army officer who thinks that the present US-supported Greek government is manufacturing Communists faster than it can kill them off. He speaks from firsthand observation.

A little, mustached "regular," who looks like someone out of a Kipling story, the colonel served two and a half years in Greece at different times—in 1941 as a member of an Aussie combat team, in 1945 as administrator of several UNRRA refugee camps, and finally as head of the British Economic Mission to northern Greece.

While fighting in Greece, Sheppard was wounded. He was shot by a German Nazi, not a Greek one, which he claims differentiates him from thousands of Greeks who have been killed by their own government since the "liberation" in 1944.

His experience has convinced him that the Royalist government, polluted with nazism, cannot defeat the rebels, and that its incredible brutality is gradually driving all democratic opposition into the extreme leftist camp.

Sheppard outlined his position while in New York recently on his way home. With the *London Times* and the accounts of US and British correspondents in Athens at the time to back him, the colonel described how Royalist troops machine-gunned a peaceful ELAS demonstration in December, 1944, to start the civil war.

**Greek Nazis.** "For 33 days the enraged people of Athens battled lend-lease tanks and government troops to a standstill," he said, "until the Royalists freed the quisling Security Battalions, still in their German uniforms, and set them on the people."

These same "S. B.'s," who massacred hundreds of defenseless civilians, are now the backbone of the Royalist gendarmerie which has recently arrested and deported 46,000 Greeks to Icaria and other barren islands, the colonel remarked drily. (Correspondent Richard Mowrer of the Overseas News Agency recently wrote from Athens that the gendarmes

by Joseph P. Lyford

are using the Nazis' wartime proscription lists to round up suspected persons.)

In little villages like Ayios Prodromos, Sheppard watched the Greek government handle last year's "free elections." A Royalist officer, encouraged to confide by Sheppard's British uniform, explained: "We will arrange an almost 100-percent monarchist vote; just five against. We have already picked out five government enemies to be the opposing votes. It will give us an excuse to take care of them later."

**The guerrillas.** All this explains why there are men in the mountains who fight for a Greek republic, the colonel said. The guerrillas draw from many groups: former inmates of German slave-labor camps (hundreds of whom Sheppard knew personally while an UNRRA officer); known ELAS members—the only consistently active wartime resistance fighters; former Greek army officers and men who left the army when the Royalists assumed control; students and teachers expelled from universities because of their Republican leanings; workers denied jobs for the same reason; peasants who have been given self-government in guerrilla-controlled villages. Finally, there is a "small portion of out-and-out brigands, but Greece has never been without these men."

The colonel described the guerrilla leader, General Markos Vafiades, as "a former Greek army officer with Republican sympathies who distinguished himself as a superb tactician against the Germans."

About 10 percent of the anti-government fighters are Communists, Sheppard estimated, and he predicted that the percentage will continue to increase unless the government is changed.

Sheppard is familiar with Athens, where American diplomats come to learn about Greece. Yes, the colonel knows Flocca's, the pastry shop where gold can buy more elaborate cakes and

candies than can be found on New York's Fifth Avenue. He also remembers the Athens warehouses where the Greek government has sealed up \$75 million worth of UNRRA goods while the people shiver in the rubble of their homes.

Dwight Griswold, head of the Truman economic mission to Greece, was reportedly "shocked" when he recently discovered these bulging warehouses. For another such shock, the colonel suggests that Griswold visit Salonika and examine the Pega warehouse, in which 30,000 tons of UNRRA supplies have been piled for more than 18 months.

On non-UNRRA imports, the colonel cites a few facts from the Greek Ministry of Supply. Before the government finally agreed to put some controls on imports, this is what flowed into starving Greece, in the order of volume: (1) US autos; (2) cosmetics, perfumes, artificial jewelry; (3) silk scarves; (4) tuna fish; and (5) fountain pens and cigarettes.

**Sheppard's solution.** To correct the Greek situation, Colonel Sheppard suggests that the United States announce directly to the Greek people that the US desires democratization of Greece and that a change of government will not result in the loss of US relief—a widespread misapprehension the Royalists have cultivated.

Such an announcement, Sheppard believes, might result in a centrist regime, headed perhaps by General Nicholas Plastiras, a conservative Republican, and John Sophanopoulos of the Left Liberal Party. Such a government could purge the gendarmerie of former Nazis, put an end to political persecution of the opposition and work for the general welfare—three policies which might well end the civil war.

But most Americans will not have a chance to read what Sheppard had to say. A score of reporters who interviewed him in New York scribbled copious notes, but the next day their papers almost completely ignored the story.

## HENRY WALLACE

### Violence and Hope in the South

**A**S SURELY as the sun rises, the progressive movement will rise in the South. My travels through the Southern states since I returned from Europe have convinced me that a new spirit is stirring there.

I know that there will be setbacks for Southern progressives. In Georgia today, Herman Talmadge is gaining support, particularly in the small counties south of Macon; and once liberal papers like the *Atlanta Constitution* are forfeiting their claim to liberalism as intolerance grows.

Yet there are always new forces of progress like Joe Rabun. Joe, a young Baptist minister, was fired from his church, of which Talmadge has been a member, for defending the right of Negroes to vote in the primary. But he stumps the state today, and he introduced me to a non-segregated meeting in Macon. Joe is an ex-Marine, strong and handsome and utterly fearless. His grandfather was Governor of Georgia, and he believes that Christianity means democracy for all groups. He represents a new spirit, and liberals have formed a Keep-Joe-Rabun-in-Georgia Committee, so that the people can hear him.

**Georgia** has long been owned politically by an alliance of the textile mills and the big utility interests. Labor organization on the whole has been politically ineffective. Fear and opportunism are rampant. Those who dare buck the big corporations find the cost very high. Take the case of Horace White, for example, whom I visited in the county jail in Atlanta. I found him obviously a very fine human being, and yet there he was, serving from five to seven years in jail for the crime of protecting himself against an unjustified assault by a strikebreaker. His real crime was that he dared to lead a picket line against the Whittier mills eight miles west of Atlanta.

In Macon I was told the story of the CIO organizer, Mike Ross, whose home was invaded by violence while he was out. His wife was terrorized and his house was ransacked. Material obtained in this way was published in the *Macon Telegraph*. His wife had a miscarriage a few days later.

It was against this kind of background that I came to Macon and Atlanta to speak. Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution* said of my trip to the South that "a great many persons are angry about it to the point

of being violent." The trouble was that we dared to hold unsegregated meetings.

**Segregation** is the very heart of the system of exploiting the Negro. I am glad to say that we had unsegregated meetings everywhere and that there was no violence, and no compulsion of any sort was attempted except in Macon, Georgia, and Norfolk, Virginia. In both cases the hall management, backed up in a quiet way by the police, attempted with only partial success to seat the Negro people on one side of the hall and the white people on the other. Most people believe the segregation laws and regulations are unconstitutional and every effort is made to carry them out as quietly as possible so there can be no test case.

A reactionary Southerner's hatred for a fellow Southerner who goes progressive is far more intense than for a Northerner. I was in no danger in our meetings, but the Southerners who traveled with me might have been caused considerable embarrassment by hotheads. Tom Johnson, a local attorney in Macon, has been at the very center of the reform movement. The reactionaries had started a quiet move to tar and feather Tom Johnson, Aubrey Williams, Joe Rabun and Clark Foreman for taking part in the meeting with me, but those with a broader perspective won out and everything went off quietly.

The real danger was in Atlanta—historically the headquarters of the Klan—where there were threats that the Klan would picket the meeting and where some people had complained that 70 percent of the police force were members of the Klan. On quiet investigation, I found this to be wrong. Probably about 30 percent are actually Klansmen. We certainly had no personal complaint against the police in Atlanta. It seemed to me they were most cooperative in every way. So were they at Norfolk, where a last minute effort was made to get the police to stop the meeting on the ground that some Negroes were seated among the whites. But Clark Foreman refused to be intimidated and the police did not intervene. The chief of detectives stood outside the hall, looking intently and threateningly at the white people as they entered. He said to one of the big businessmen of Norfolk as he approached the door, "What I want to get is a record of every white person who comes in." It is the white people who most have to

fear reprisals if they engage in any progressive movement.

Negroes suffer in other ways. Take New Orleans, for example, where there is no poll tax and where only 5,000 out of 100,000 potential Negro voters are registered. One of the trick questions asked at the polls is, "How old are you in years, months and days?" No matter how a Negro answers this question he is likely to be adjudged wrong. Or registration officials will rely on a test that involves reading and explaining a section of the state or federal constitution. One highly educated Negro told me he had had to try three successive years before being registered. He said the trouble was that those who applied the test did not understand the Constitution.

**More and more** I am convinced that the real purpose of maintaining Jim Crow and racial segregation in public meetings is not hatred of the Negro so much as it is the desire to prevent the expression of progressive sentiment by the underprivileged. Often it is the whites themselves who are the underprivileged, as is demonstrated by the percentage of rejects by the Army for mental deficiency in different sections of the country. In the Southern states from two to five times as many white men out of each hundred were rejected as of Negroes in New York City.

A Negro in New York City has far better schools

than the whites in the South. The South is too poor to maintain decent schools for anybody, except in the larger cities. Yet bad as the white Southern schools are, the Negro schools there are much worse. Four times as much is invested per pupil in the white schools as in the Negro schools. Twice as much is spent per pupil to educate a white as a Negro in the lower grades. White school teachers get 40 percent higher salaries; in Louisiana, they get twice as much pay. The Negro schoolrooms are much more overcrowded, and the double-session system is used in a way which cuts down the number of hours in which Negro children have an opportunity to learn.

The Negro high-school libraries have about one-fourth as many books per student as the white high-school libraries. In the Southern colleges, Negroes have no opportunity to study dentistry, medicine, pharmacy or social work. In only four out of the 17 states where there is educational segregation is a Negro permitted to study law.

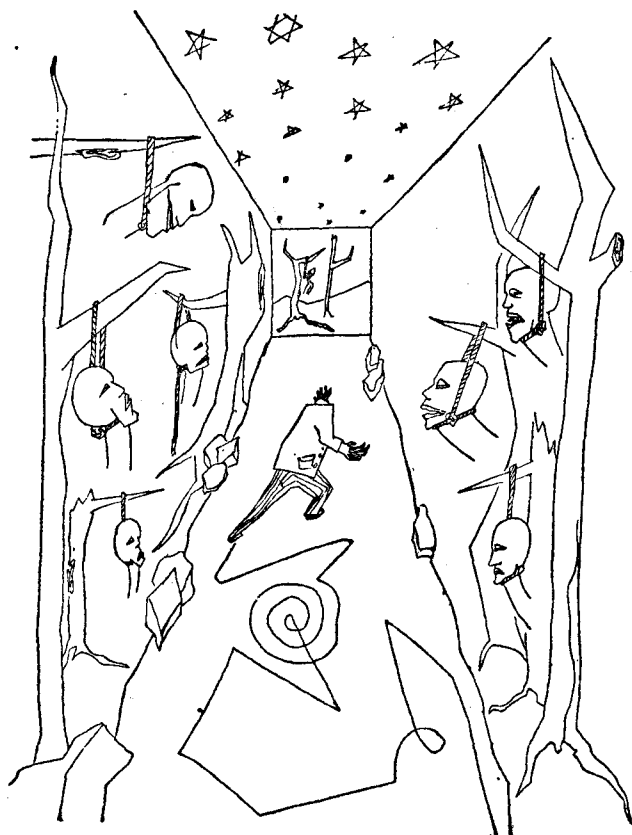
Educational segregation is more than the South can afford. Jim Crow in education must end or American democracy will end.

**Who is there** to speak out against Jim Crow? I was amazed to find the fearfulness that exists in some of the Jewish communities in the South. In New Orleans, for example, Jewish people are not accepted in the Boston Club, the Choctaw Club, the country clubs, or any of the Carnival Ball Committees. They have given with the greatest generosity to the park system, Tulane University and all civic activities. Their good works are endless and yet they are fearful of furnishing dynamic leadership in the progressive cause.

Fear of lynching is still very much alive in the South. Some of the Negroes told me that the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights was excellent as a whole but not accurate with regard to lynching. They say the technique now is quietly to murder a Negro, one man doing the killing instead of a mob. Negro murders are rarely mentioned in the press or followed up by the police. The murders are most common among the Negro sharecroppers who have been short-changed by the land owner who sells the cotton. If the Negro stands up for his rights with a certain type of landlord, he is in danger of getting shot.

Fortunately, the situation between the white owner and Negro sharecropper has been improving in recent years, and an increasing number of white owners allow the Negro cropper to be on hand when the cotton is sold. The white owners are often in such poor financial shape themselves that I am wondering what will happen when cotton prices go down.

The bright side of the Southern picture is the keen



JACOB LAWRENCE, COURTESY THE DOWNTOWN GALLERY

desire of the younger generation to learn all sides of public problems. I was asked by the student bodies of seven Southern colleges and universities to address them. The hearing given me was most respectful, though the majority probably did not agree with me about either Jim Crow or foreign policy. There were always a few ardent progressives in the hall, and a few others who stood outside and suggested that the way to handle me was by violence.

At New Orleans in the middle of the night, the telephone rang, and in an angry voice a man accused me of advocating violence. I assured him I was not, whereupon he became apoplectic and shouted that the South knew how to handle people like me. Within two minutes this strange caller had ceased to deplore violence and begun to advocate it.

In proportion to population, the Southern meetings were just as large as in the North. In the main they were just as enthusiastic, although in some places it was obvious that the white people were afraid to clap for fear someone would see them. There is still a heavy weight of fear and hatred stalking up and down the countryside of the South, although in the cities it is diminishing as the Negroes begin to vote.

**The South** will never win her economic rights until the Negro is looked on as an equal citizen. The US will never be looked on as a real democracy by other nations until all Americans are treated as equals.

The time has come to end second-class citizenship. It is no argument to call true Americanism "communism." The wealthy interests which stand in the background and call the political tune have clouded the real issues long enough. It is not communism we have to fight in the US; it is the conditions which produce communism.

Our greatest weaknesses as a progressive democracy are racial segregation, racial discrimination, racial prejudice and racial fear—the one area where the Russians are stronger than we. It is time to advance, and the place is the next Congress.

H. W.

## MEN WHO DIDN'T FORGET

*Members of the 52 Association, who donate money and time to help wounded veterans, are getting as much as they give* **by Herbert Mitgang**

**T**HAT DAY in Ward B-11 at St. Albans Naval Hospital word got around that the 52 Association was on the way. Patients from the other wards hobbled over, while the B-11 men wheeled up their chairs (those who could) or had the beds raised to get a better look. The hosts from 52 hurried in, laughing, reworked old jokes at the bedsides, and had their volunteer entertainers perform. Then one of the hosts, who happened to be a clothing manufacturer, held up his hand and signaled toward the door.

**Horse talk.** In trotted four of the country's leading jockeys—Guerin, Permane, Allgaier and Atkinson. The jocks moved from bed to bed, talking to horses. Some of the hosts put on chefs' hats, rolled out succulent food ordinarily not found in the hospitals, and proceeded to carve a feast for everybody. After dark, a few hours after they were supposed to leave, the gang from 52 left. The men from the hot war at Anzio and Bougainville and Hertgen Forest were pretty pleased about the whole affair, seeing the jockeys who, in a way, were heroes to them—especially when they booted home a winner. For the veterans in B-11 were all paraplegics.

One of the minor things you learn as a member of 52 is that many paraplegics are racing fans; a man on his back has plenty of spare time and can keep busy by spending the morning hours handicapping and then following his bet on the ward radio.

You learn other things, too.

You learn that the slogan of the 52 Association, which in the New York area alone has 1,200 members, is: "The wounded shall never be forgot-

ten." Fifty-two weeks a year, seven days a week, the business and professional men of this association carry on their work of not forgetting. This is no fly-by-night, quickie group that gets a shot of conscience once and then lets the wounded rot the rest of the year. The association is solely dedicated to binding up the wounds of the veterans and to do so, incidentally but intentionally, without any Jim Crow or other selective segregation.

The 52 Association isn't the Rotarians, Chamber of Commerce or a Handshakers' & Backslappers' Club. (It has nothing to do with the 52-20 Club other than trying to get jobs for the wounded.) The prosperous executive who dishes out a second helping to a hospitalized veteran isn't doing so for business reasons. There are no "contacts" to make in 52, no people who are "important"—unless you consider a blind ex-GI important.

**Born in a bar.** That is, in fact, how 52 came into being in the early part of 1945. A young Navy lieutenant and a group of blind sailors, instead of returning to their hospital after the theater, decided to go somewhere for refreshments. The lieutenant escorted the sailors to a famous Manhattan epicureum. Many of the regulars at nearby tables offered to pick up the tab, but the restaurant owner insisted that the party was on the house. A little later the owner learned that nothing special was done—and even less would be done as the memories of war grew colder—for the walking and bedridden wounded.

The owner and some of his friends worked out a plan: they would round up 52 men, each to pay \$52 a year, and organize a party a week for patients. They called themselves the 52 Association. That was during the war; they weren't news then, for many such

Herbert Mitgang, former managing editor of the Sicily and Oran-Casa Blanca editions of Stars and Stripes, collaborated on the screen version of Up Front. He is now with the New York Times.

small groups existed. From 52 members the association climbed to its present strength of more than 1,700, including some from as far away as Honolulu.

The members, many of whom have stuck from the start or been replaced by serious-minded men committed to the long haul, are still for the most part mature business and professional executives. They joined for various reasons: some lost sons in the war, some are grateful that their sons came back, and some are men who for age or other reasons didn't make this war. Many World War II veterans have joined.

**Weekly parties.** Special events like all-day boat trips, summer fishing outings and ball games are attended regularly; this year, groups saw the World Series games. The usual week-day evening party starts off at a big restaurant, picks up speed at the theater or a sporting event and follows through with a late snack in town, with a radio broadcast sandwiched in, before the men are driven back to the hospital. Louis Olshan, former Army Special Services officer, runs the parties. Hospital-ward parties, like the one in Ward B-11, are held at least once a

week. Seventeen thousand wounded have been entertained so far in metropolitan New York. Hosts from 52 are greeted with continuous wonderment by the men whom many others have not remembered.

Of equal importance to the seven-day-a-week entertainment is 52's job-placement program. At all the parties the hosts tell the men to come around, after they get well, to room 300 at the Hotel Capitol in New York City, where 52 has permanent headquarters and a small but veteranwise staff of trained employment counselors. The idea is to get the disabled regular jobs that offer a future. The counselors see over 100 men every month, referred to 52 by public agencies like the state employment service and the Veterans' Administration and other organizations.

The usual 52 job campaign includes an interview that leads to an individualized effort. The association prints 75 to 150 job summaries, set up in a professional way and mailed to a carefully selected list of employers, some of whom are 52 members. A dozen telephone calls are made and perhaps a half-dozen visits to prospective employers. Mortimer Karpp, executive director of 52, says it is no "occupational lonely hearts' club" and men

are only sent out where there is a real job prospect.

Like other phases of its work, 52's placement service is on fair employment terms. A wounded man's color or faith is quite unimportant here. This is emphasized in the literature sent out soliciting jobs for the disabled. There is no additional "loyalty test" for the wounded.

**Spreading out.** The association is rapidly becoming nationwide. A 52 Association of the United States has been incorporated to grant charters to other cities outside New York. Branches in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston and elsewhere are planned and only await the same good heart that has already created a branch with 500 members in Chicago.

Wherever they are, 52 members have been able to see firsthand what war means—the dog-face part, the dirty end. "When you see the wounded of this war and hear them speak—or not speak—you wonder about the drummer boys beating for the next one," said a member coming out of a ward. "Yes, we're helping them a little, but they're teaching us much more."



DRAWING BY JOHN GROTH

# FOR "NORDICS" ONLY

*As discrimination invades the campuses, US colleges and universities are showing an increasing preference for white Christians* **by Bruce Bliven**

**R**ACIAL and religious prejudice against minorities is of many kinds and operates at many levels. One of the most serious is the attempt to restrict educational opportunities for members of these minorities.

The believer in the Hitlerian myth of Nordic supremacy insists that other races are inferior; then, as though he did not believe his own argument, he tries to make the member of the minority really inferior, by seeking to force him into a second-best education which will ensure his being a second-best citizen.

While in this article I shall discuss chiefly discrimination against Jews, I hope my readers will remember that it exists also against members of all minority groups. Most of the colleges in the American South, for example, are firmly locked against the Negro. As I have said earlier, freedom is indivisible: hostility to one minority usually means hostility to all, and is almost always accompanied by reactionary attitudes on all other public questions.

**Indiscreet president.** Of the hundreds of American colleges and universities which restrict the entrance of Jews, hardly one will publicly admit it. Only rarely is a college official so indiscreet as was former president Ernest M. Hopkins of Dartmouth, who several years ago wrote a letter conceding and defending the practice. Most colleges deny the policy, and lay the rejection of Jewish students to some other factor.

But there are several fairly reliable tests of an anti-Semitic academic attitude. One is insistence by a college that applicants for admission state their religion. (Some colleges, seeking to avoid criticism of such bald tactics, ask instead for a copy of your photograph and the names and birthplaces of your grandparents.)

Another test is the presence in the college of a proportion of Jews conspicuously smaller than that in the area from which most of the students come.

The research staff of the American Jewish Congress has performed a monumental task in checking, so far as is possible, the proportion of Jewish students in a large number of colleges all over the United States. In most instances, colleges, whether or not they demand information about race, religion or national origin, decline to open their enrolment records to outsiders. They do, however, publish a list of the names of all students, from which it is possible to select those which appear to be Jewish. Defenders of the colleges argue that this method is not reliable, since many Jews have, or have adopted, Gentile-sounding names. I am confident, however, that the method of research that has been employed is adequate to reveal the main facts.

On a basis of the investigation made by the AJC, and information gathered from other sources (including particularly articles in the *American Mercury* by Frank Kingdon and Dan W. Dodson and an article in the *American Scholar* by Dodson), the following well known American colleges have enrolled conspicuously small proportions of Jews: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Colgate, Dartmouth, Haverford, Illinois, Knox, Lehigh, Middlebury, Mount Holyoke, Northwestern, Princeton, Swarthmore, Williams and Yale. The situation is complicated, however, in that sometimes one department in a college, or one

college in a university, will have a markedly better record than others in the same institution.

When a Fair Educational Practices Act was proposed in Massachusetts early in 1947, president Mildred McAfee Horton of Wellesley announced, on behalf of herself and the Board of Trustees, that the college was opposing this bill, which would have forbidden schools and colleges to demand on application blanks information about race, religion and nationality. President Horton said in effect that such a law would take out of the hands of the college ability to control the proportion of students of different faiths. Such control is needed to prevent segregation within the college itself, and to enable students of different backgrounds to know and understand each other, president Horton contends.

Smith College, on the other hand, does not share Mrs. Horton's fears; it has voluntarily deleted questions about race, religion and origin from application blanks.

At the time of a recent survey, it was reported that Princeton had about two percent of Jews; Colgate was admitting four or five Jews annually out of 200 to 300 applications; Dartmouth was admitting 25 or 30 out of about 500 applications. When 12 boys from the Horace Mann School in New York City applied to Dartmouth in the spring of 1945, one Gentile was taken and 11 Jews rejected, most of them with better records than the one applicant accepted. This situation is repeated over and over.

**Sixteen to one.** Serious as is anti-Semitism in the undergraduate institutions, it is far worse in the professional schools which prepare students to be doctors, dentists, lawyers and engineers. These institutions are at present badly overcrowded; in the medical schools, for instance, seven or eight individuals apply each year for every vacant place in the freshman class. Statistics gathered by the American Jewish Congress indicate that the proportion of Jewish students in professional schools has gone down markedly in the last quarter of a century, in some instances 50 percent or more.

*This is the fourth in a series on the growing anti-Semitism in the United States. The next article will appear in an early New Republic.*

Before the war, the Jewish boy who wanted to become a doctor and was unable to get admission to an American institution could go abroad to study: in one class in a Scottish medical school there were 17 American boys—16 Jews and one Negro. In those days, certain medical schools in the United Kingdom or on the Continent, notably in Vienna, enjoyed high prestige in the United States.

Now this door, too, has been closed. The National Board of Medical Examiners will no longer admit to its examinations graduates of European medical schools, except individuals with degrees from British universities (not including Scottish ones).

**Popular device.** The deans of medical and other professional schools, like those of the undergraduate institutions, almost never confess to discrimination. The favorite device nowadays, and one which in some cases may be a sincere policy, is to say that students are drawn from all parts of the country in order to have a national representation.

In support of this ambition, a good many professional schools have sharply limited applications from graduates of the municipal institutions of higher learning maintained by the city of New York, whose student bodies contain a very large proportion of Jews. President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, in its recent history-making report, refers to this situation as follows:

"The students of the city colleges of New York are predominantly Jewish, resulting in part from the discrimination practised by some local private in-

stitutions. These colleges have high academic standards, but graduates from them with excellent records have been repeatedly denied admission to private and non-sectarian professional schools."

The President's Committee then refers to a study of this subject carried out by a Special Investigating Committee of the Council of the City of New York. The New York committee "found convincing evidence of discrimination against graduates of the city colleges by the medical schools in the city in violation of the Civil Rights Act of New York. The Investigating Committee, after questioning witnesses and examining application blanks, concluded that various professional schools tried to get information about applicants which would indicate their race, religion or national origin for 'a purpose other than judging their qualifications for admission'."

There can be no doubt that throughout the country as a whole, discrimination in professional schools is common. The University of Southern California Medical School, at the time of a recent survey, required the candidate to say whether he was Anglo-Saxon, French, German, Italian, Negro, Oriental, Scandinavian, Slavonic or Spanish. The University of Virginia Medical School asked whether you were "English, French, Hebrew or Italian, etc."

Syracuse wanted to know the denomination of the applicant's church preference. George Washington University asked about race and religion and wanted to know whether the would-be student had ever registered at any school under a different name. (Some Jewish applicants, in despair

because of anti-Semitic discrimination, have changed their names.)

Among the medical schools which are generally reported to keep down the proportion of Jewish students in substantial degree are those connected with these universities and colleges: Cornell, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Dartmouth, Rochester, Duke, Wake Forest College, Northwestern and Baylor. Those which reportedly show evidence of discrimination, but in a lesser degree, include the medical schools of these universities: Chicago, Maryland, Boston, Cincinnati, California, Pennsylvania and the Jefferson and Temple medical schools in Philadelphia.

This situation is the more shocking when we realize that the United States at this time has a grave shortage of doctors, a shortage which, for general practitioners alone, has been estimated by competent authorities as about 20,000.

**Federal support.** Many of the institutions which practise flagrant anti-Semitism receive important financial aid from the states or the federal government. Their buildings and equipment, sometimes worth millions of dollars, are usually tax-exempt; many of them are definitely aided by money appropriated by the state legislatures, and almost all of them are at present receiving grants from the federal government under the GI Bill of Rights, which has brought, in hundreds of cases, unparalleled prosperity to the campus. Gifts to these institutions by private donors are tax-exempt, and thereby deprive the government of large sums of money which would



otherwise come to it in the shape of income or inheritance levies.

In the attempt to combat anti-Semitism by legal methods, the suggestion has often been made—most recently by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights—that municipal, state or federal funds should be withheld from institutions which discriminate against students because of race or religion.

**Deliberate lies.** An aspect of college anti-Semitism which I have never seen mentioned, but one which seems to me important, is the psychological harm it does to college presidents and deans who practise it. These men and women are ex-officio leaders of their communities. Yet almost every day they lie, and deliberately lie, when they tell Jewish applicants that "there is no more room in the college"; "you have failed to meet the necessary requirements," and so on. Surely such practices must be destructive to the spirit of these hundreds of men and women who should be, and potentially are, among the finest products of our culture.

Anti-Semitism exists in the colleges among student bodies as well as faculties and admission boards. Nearly all the national "Nordic" Greek-letter fraternities and sororities have rules against admitting Jews, Negroes or other members of minority groups; local chapters have been expelled, or

threatened with expulsion, for violating this code.

Most of the professions have honorary Greek-letter fraternities for their members, some of which are of great importance in furthering a man's career after he is out of college. One such fraternity, Phi Delta Phi, whose members are lawyers, has for some time had among its membership qualifications an "Aryan" clause. At the 1947 annual convention of the fraternity a determined effort was made to remove this provision. It was defeated, however, when the subtle suggestion was made to delegates from the South that if the door were opened, an effort to introduce substantial numbers of Negroes might follow.

In scores of colleges, extracurricular activities, or at least the most important positions in such activities, are closed to members of minority groups. In dozens of institutions it is most unusual for a Jew or a Negro to get on the football team or the track squad or to engage in college theatricals or edit the college paper.

In their book, *Christians Only*, Heywood Broun and George Britt tell of an incident at "an Eastern university," at which a Jew became a member of the college crew and was the only crew member still in college at the beginning of his senior year. By tradition, a senior had to be captain of the boat. Anti-Semitism was strong

enough in this institution to cause the crew to *abolish the post of captain* for that one year, until the Jewish oarsman was safely graduated. Then the captaincy was restored.

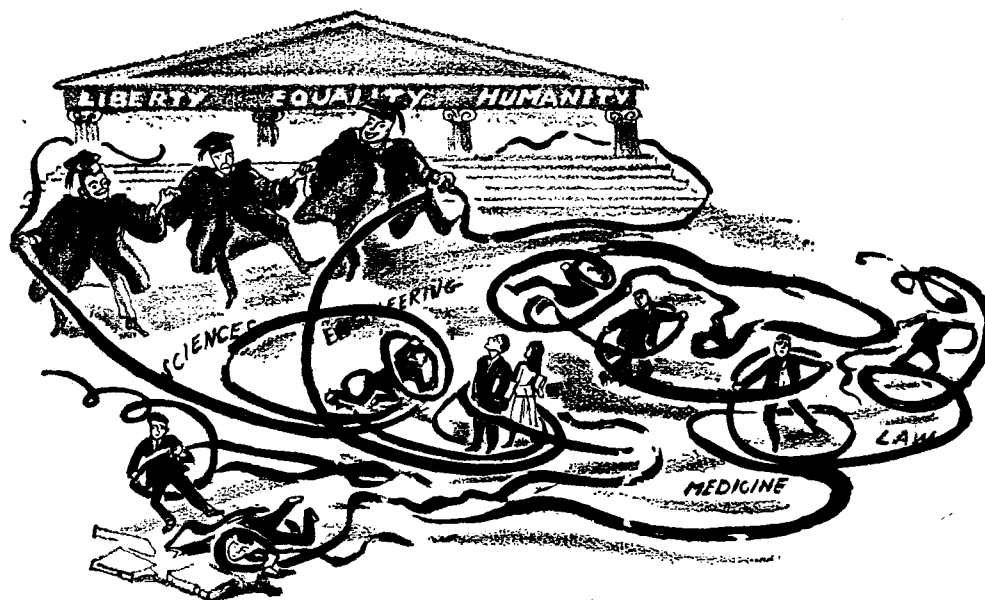
**Iowa tragedy.** An incident significant from several points of view took place this summer at Iowa City, seat of the University of Iowa. A young Jew, named Elihu Cooper, a former graduate student at the university and now an instructor at a local Hebrew institution, was set upon by two youths as he was entering a coffee shop for a late supper. These two youths, one a student and one a former student at the university, attacked Cooper, apparently on the ground of his race alone, and beat him into unconsciousness; only one of a number of bystanders attempted to interfere, and he, also, was knocked down.

This incident became known at once to the city authorities. Yet nobody lifted a finger to do anything about it until Norman Cousins told the story in a brilliant article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

Once its hand had been forced, Iowa acted pretty well. More than 80 Iowans wrote individually to Cousins expressing their humiliation that such a thing could have happened in the Hawkeye state. The university investigated the situation; so did the state police, though seemingly with little enthusiasm. The *Des Moines Register and Tribune* gave wide publicity to the affair.

A local grand jury was prepared to act. It was handicapped, however, because Cooper, the victim, refused to make formal charges, or to testify against his assailants. His argument was that our society, which indoctrinated them with anti-Semitism, is the really guilty party.

Those who defend the *numerus clausus* in the colleges argue erroneously that it applies mostly to the old, established institutions in the Northeast.



DRAWINGS BY ELIZABETH OLDS

Why, they ask irritably, do the Jews insist on crowding into these institutions where they are not wanted? Why don't they go to the Western state universities, most of which are required by law to accept all applicants? To this there are several answers:

¶ Many Jewish students *do* travel West, having beaten in vain on the closed portals of the colleges of their first, second and tenth choices.

¶ There is an increasing tendency to close the doors of state universities to Jews. Some such schools are beginning to confine attendance to bona-fide residents of their own state, or to limit out-of-state students to a small percentage of the total. There is particular evidence of anti-Semitism in some of the professional schools of these Western state universities. Most of the Jews who formerly went abroad to study medicine had first tried unsuccessfully to get into practically every American college or university with any standing at all.

¶ The average Jewish boy, let us say from New York, objects just as strongly to being exiled to some college in the Far West as would a Gentile boy from the same city. The overwhelming majority of all young people want to study in the part of the country where they expect to live, and to make college friendships among those whom they will be able to see at least occasionally in their subsequent life.

**No halfway ground.** Once you have doomed the Jew to an inferior education or an inconvenient education, or an education under circumstances to which he strongly objects, you have entered upon a process which has no logical end until you come to the gas chambers of Buchenwald. Either the Jew is a citizen, with all the rights of every other citizen, or he is not. There is no halfway ground between these two positions.

Nowhere does anti-Semitism bite more deeply than in restrictions placed upon Jews as to their employment and where they are allowed to live. In my next article I shall describe these situations and what is being done about them.

## PROFIT MOTIVE IN BLOOD

*To organized medicine, the Red Cross program of free blood for everyone suggests that unspeakable thing—socialization*

by Leonard Engel

**W**ITHIN the next few months, the sick and the injured in three states and eight cities will be able to obtain all the whole blood they need for transfusions—free of any charge except the doctor's fee.

In those places, one of the great humanitarian projects of our time—the Red Cross plan for a nationwide system of free blood banks—is going forward. Banks, open to all, are already, or soon will be, operating.

In six cities—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Buffalo and Portland (Maine)—however, the Red Cross program has struck a snag—the *idée fixe* of some doctors that free blood is socialized medicine, an unspeakable thing.

The cool reception given the Red Cross plan in those cities is a tragedy. Present arrangements for supplying blood are inadequate in many ways and sometimes lead to grave abuses. Moreover, the Red Cross program promises a life-saving revolution in medical treatment. Those who delay the Red Cross program, consequently, delay a vital medical advance.

A dozen years ago, blood was comparatively little used in medicine. Transfusions were given, in the main, in emergency situations only—for severe shock or hemorrhage, and in accident injuries that were taking a fatal course. Advances since then have changed the picture altogether.

Blood and blood products are now the doctor's right hand in a hundred wonders of the healing art. They build up patients for operations, prevent shock, stop bleeding, save the scalded and the burned, furnish surgical membranes and quick-healing dressings for

wounds, fight anemia and help the victims of kidney and liver diseases. They aid the mother on the delivery table, cure her child of fatal neonatal jaundice and protect it against measles. And these uses are merely a beginning.

**Only 15 at work.** In the laboratory of Dr. Edwin J. Cohn, brilliant Harvard physical chemist and blood pioneer, blood has been separated into 80 components. Only 15 have been put to work in the clinic so far. Scientific research will in time find life-saving uses for the other 65, for all parts of blood play an essential role in life and death.

In addition, many other useful fractions will be found; blood is an exceedingly complex fluid, and even the indefatigable Dr. Cohn has scarcely begun to discover what it contains. Tomorrow's blood will perform 10 therapeutic miracles for every one it works today.

At the present time, blood technology has advanced to the point where nearly three million Americans will be treated with some form of blood this year. The number treated will be larger next year, and larger still the year after that. Within five years, it should reach eight or 10 million annually.

But tomorrow's blood therapy will help eight or 10 million Americans a year back to health *only if blood is freely available*. Blood and blood derivatives are in somewhat the same position today as penicillin was a few years ago. In 1944, penicillin was already an indispensable life-saver, but the real advances in penicillin therapy came later, when production became great enough to put the drug in every doctor's kit and make every doctor a penicillin experimenter.

Similarly, blood therapy, the next

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Leonard Engel is science editor of Reader's Scope, a regular contributor on scientific subjects to Science Illustrated and the Toronto Star Weekly, and science correspondent of the Nation.

revolutionary development in medicine, will fulfil its ultimate promise only when blood is freely available and blood derivatives crowd the jars of penicillin in the doctor's medicine cabinet.

Real strides in the use of blood products also depend on the mass availability of blood for quite another reason. Blood is divided into its components by an ingenious process devised by Dr. Cohn and his associates. The process is a typical industrial chemical operation, and on a large scale, with automatic centrifuges and refrigerating machinery, it is remarkably cheap. On a small scale, however, its cost is prohibitive. Indeed, only one of the several plants that fractionated blood during the war is still operating. The others will not be put back to work, and blood-product prices will not fall to reasonable levels, until blood is again available in million-pint lots, such as the Red Cross alone is capable of collecting.

**Dwindling surplus.** In community after community, blood in any form is actually scarce. Thirty-five percent of the hospitals in the United States have never given a transfusion. Another 30 to 40 percent use blood only in dire emergencies. Even big city hospitals can't afford to be generous with it. They obtain blood, for the most part, from professional donors and relatives of those who receive the transfusions, both limited sources.

According to the Red Cross, the nation's present annual blood requirement is 3.7 million pints. Actual use last year totaled but 1.5 million pints, and of this, only two-thirds came from

current donations. The balance was supplied out of stocks collected by the Red Cross during the war and declared surplus by the Army and Navy—a surplus that will be exhausted no later than next summer.

**Key endorsements.** It was against this background that the Red Cross decided last spring to set up a permanent system of free blood banks. Americans had responded to Red Cross appeals before and would, the Red Cross rightly believed, respond again—far more generously than to private-blood-bank ads offering \$5 a pint. The free-blood plan was confirmed at the Red Cross convention in Cleveland in June and has since been endorsed by the key national agencies interested in public health—the Army and the Navy, the Veterans' Administration, the US Public Health Service, the American Hospital Association, the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers and the American Medical Association.

The Red Cross is an experienced campaigner. The director of the national blood program is FDR's former personal physician, Vice Admiral Ross T. McIntire, a seasoned administrator (he was wartime head of the Navy Bureau of Medicine and Surgery) with a flair for practical politics. The Red Cross will do the job in any way agreeable to local doctors, hospitals and health officials (whose cooperation is essential).

In Newark, for example, the Red Cross serves simply as a collecting agency; the blood is processed and distributed by a non-profit corporation operated by the county medical society. In Massachusetts, where Red Cross blood is supplied in all communities except Boston, the state department of health handles processing and distributing. In some cities, the Red Cross performs all functions itself. The principal conditions it imposes are the maintenance of adequate technical standards and the distribution of the collected blood free of charge to all.

In the majority of communities, the Red Cross is receiving an enthusiastic welcome. In addition to Newark and Massachusetts, free blood banks are in

operation in Michigan, North Dakota and Wichita (Kansas); similar banks are now being established in Atlanta, Louisville, Omaha, Rochester (N. Y.), Stockton (Calif.) and Washington, D. C. Another 15 banks are scheduled to be opened by next summer. But it seems that the Red Cross is not quite flexible enough to please all parties. In some cities, local medical interests are outraged over the free-of-charge-to-all feature.

The opposition to free blood banks assumes different forms in different communities. Usually, it is covert and relies on artful stalling. Doctors ask whether the Red Cross, which collected 13.5 million pints of blood during the war, is sure it can do the job, or suggest that free blood banks would constitute a dangerous monopoly. Few medical mossbacks have the temerity to buck the Red Cross openly on an issue like free blood.

**Brash doctors.** One group that *did* have the nerve is the Philadelphia County Medical Society. Shortly after V-J Day, the Red Cross, as a step toward the national-blood-bank program, authorized chapters to set up local civilian blood-donor services if they wished. Since Philadelphia had, and still has, no central blood bank whatever—each hospital maintains its own small bank—the Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter of the Red Cross went to work.

A joint Red Cross-hospital-medical-society planning committee was set up. The committee was making excellent progress when its members read in the papers one June morning that the medical society had decided the blood bank should be deferred indefinitely and was withdrawing from the committee. The doctors didn't have the courtesy to inform the committee members in advance.

Philadelphia, the medical society said, has no need of a blood bank. This was the same Philadelphia where circuslike emergency searches for donors of rare types of blood (types that would be stocked by a large blood bank) are a newspaper commonplace, where a pint of blood costs \$25 or four pints of your relatives' blood,



exclusive of the physician's fee for making the transfusion.

Last month, Philadelphia's doctors "reversed" themselves. A Red Cross bank was approved, provided it served disaster and charity patients only. But, as Philadelphia's doctors well knew, such a proposal cannot be accepted by the Red Cross; the organization is forbidden by its charter to impose a means test on recipients of its aid and must adhere to a free-to-all policy. So Philadelphia is almost as far away from a Red Cross blood bank as ever.

**Victorious "compromise."** When the Red Cross offered its plan to New York City last year, the coordinating council of the New York medical societies proposed that the Red Cross collect blood for charity patients only. This the Red Cross refused to do. After months of tortuous negotiation, the original Red Cross proposal to provide blood for all 220 of the metropolitan area's hospitals was whittled down—at the insistence of the medical societies—to a plan to supply five municipal hospitals, one in each borough.

To anyone familiar with the facts of life in New York, this supposed "compromise" was an all-out victory for organized medicine. Most patients in city hospitals are "charity patients," to whom the medical societies are quite willing to allow free blood. Meanwhile, patients in New York's other 215 hospitals will continue to enjoy the sacred privilege of paying through the nose for health.

The focus of the opposition to the Red Cross in New York is the city's largest blood supplier, the Blood and Plasma Exchange. Operated as a part of Post-Graduate Hospital, the Exchange is professedly a non-profit organization. It is hard to escape the conclusion, however, that the Exchange rewards its operators handsomely.

The Exchange buys blood for \$5 a pint and sells it for \$15. According to Exchange officials, the processing cost is \$7.50 a pint. That leaves \$2.50 to be accounted for; in an operation totaling 200,000 pints a year, this mounts up to a considerable sum. Moreover, the margin may well be

even larger. During the war, the Army found it necessary to pay pharmaceutical manufacturers, who aren't in business for their health, only \$4.50 a pint for processing.

The Exchange is also indirectly responsible for a scandalous abuse involving commercial blood donors. At \$5 a pint, blood donation is hardly a significant source of income. But \$5 will buy a week of cheap alcohol. For that reason, commercial blood centers are extremely popular with derelicts, who come back again and again. Many return at six-week intervals, whereas blood cannot be given safely by the average individual more often than a pint every three months. At Post-Graduate and other New York bleeding centers, one donor gave 23 pints in 24 months.

In well fed individuals, let alone Bowery derelicts, such frequent donation can have only one result: collapse from a vicious form of anemia. In New York, the victims of donor's anemia wind up in Bellevue Hospital, where the city puts blood back into them at a cost of \$25 a pint.

When several agencies are buying blood, it is admittedly extremely difficult to eliminate too frequent repeaters, but hard-pressed commercial banks sometimes do not try very hard. In any case, donor's anemia is frequent enough to have merited a lengthy, coldly furious review article in the June 15 issue of the *New York State Journal of Medicine*.

The overbleeding of Bowery tramps was first brought to light by the *Daily Worker*; perhaps for that reason the story hasn't been touched by any other New York newspaper. A scandal is a scandal, however, regardless of who exposes it. The danger of overbleeding will be ended only when the Red Cross, which will neither pay donors nor charge patients, takes over the supplying of blood.

The limitations and abuses that apply to the private Philadelphia and New York blood banks apply generally



DRAWINGS BY RAMON GORDON

to the private banks in the other cities where Red Cross plans are limping: in Buffalo, where the Red Cross project has been whittled down to a bank for a single county hospital; in Portland, where the commercial blood service has taken newspaper ads to attack the Red Cross; in Chicago, where Red Cross plans are bottled up in a Red Cross-hospital-health-department-medical-society committee; in Los Angeles, where the Red Cross is permitted to collect blood for Veterans' Administration hospitals only; and in San Francisco, where the Red Cross chapter itself won't undertake the job.

To be sure, the technical level of many of the private banks in these cities is high; one, serving the larger hospitals in the central part of the San Francisco area, also achieves unusually low costs. But the Red Cross can provide a more extensive and more advanced service than the best of these.

**Publicity-shy.** It is Red Cross policy never to engage in controversy, especially with members of the medical fraternity, even though such a vital project as the national blood program may be at stake. The Red Cross goes so far in this respect that a national vice-chairman tried to persuade me to kill this article; subsequently, obstacles were systematically placed in my path.

Notwithstanding its overcautiousness, the Red Cross is the logical organization to operate a nationwide system of blood banks. The Red Cross stands willing and able to usher in an era of better health for everyone; it will do so unless its plans are stalemated by the opposition of medical Tories.

## BOOKS IN REVIEW

### THE PATHOLOGY OF TREASON

by Richard Watts Jr.

**T**HE CONTRAST between the grave, beautiful, patrician prose of Rebecca West and the queasy shoddiness of the contemptible men she is studying gives *The Meaning of Treason* (Viking; \$3.50) a bitterly ironic quality of dramatic effectiveness. Essentially Miss West is concerned with developing from her case histories of British traitors a devil's philosophy of treachery to the state and its application to the chaotic contemporary world.

Being a woman of extraordinary subtlety and intelligence, she is extremely provocative about it, if not always convincing. But if her anti-Russianism and her surprising anti-intellectual bias, perhaps even her very subtlety, make the moral lessons she would draw often unpersuasive, her investigation of individual traitors is invariably impressive, both psychologically and dramatically.

Parts of the chapters on William Joyce, the most famous of them all, and John Amery, the most psychopathic, have appeared in the *New Yorker*, where readers have already attested to their skill and power. In the magazine selections, however, the author merely set down some highlight of the trials of the two traitors. The articles gave a proper impression of the style, viewpoint and excellence of what Miss West had to say, but were necessarily too sketchy to do more than suggest the understanding, the painstaking investigation and the deep probing into men and motives that have gone into the making of *The Meaning of Treason*.

Miss West has provided not only a virtually definitive biography of Joyce and a full-length portrait of Amery and the wildly implausible Norman Baillie-Stewart, (who was twice a traitor to his country and still lives), but comprehensive accounts of the small fry, the score or more assorted weaklings and poltroons who sold out their fellow countrymen for

minor privileges in the prison camps. Then, to remind us that the extravagant, melodramatic villainy of the Nazis was not an Allied wartime invention, there are a few brief and horrifying glimpses of some of the minor German agents whose job it was to torment these weaklings into helping them.

To give what Miss West obviously intends as a rounded picture of modern treason, there is a brief account of the appearance in the dock of Dr. Allan Nunn May, who was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for giving a Russian notes on his atomic-energy work. She goes about it, oddly enough, as gingerly as she says the Attorney General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, went about the prosecution.

**Lord Haw-Haw.** In the book of traitors, Joyce was not only the most celebrated but the most interesting. Indeed, there was the stuff of sardonic tragedy in the case of this bitter, brave, eloquent, always faintly ridiculous little man who seemed to be driven by an instinctive passion for self-destruction.

In some senseless way, his entire life, as well as that of his unhappy father, appears to have been directed toward the moment when the radio traitor was to be hanged for treason to a king to whom he had no technical allegiance. How else is it possible to explain the intensity with which he and his father devoted years of pain and energy to concealing the one fact that would have saved William Joyce's life: that he had been nominally an American citizen rather than a British subject? When this all-important technicality did come to light it was too late to do any good; Joyce appears to have had only an intellectual interest in bringing it up.

There is surely material for drama

in the manner in which the man who was to become England's best known traitor came to England in the first place, because his love for an imperial Britain that was dying had led him to betray his native land, Ireland, in the days when she was fighting for her liberty against oppression by the Black and Tans. Miss West has true English loftiness toward an Irishman who "illustrated the Irish conception of consistency by expressing his hearty desire that William Joyce should be hanged for treason against the King of England, on the ground that when he was a boy he had worked with the Black and Tans in persecuting the Irish when they were revolting against the English," but Providence seems to have had something of the Irishman's idea in mind.

The main motive which drove Joyce to his acts of treason against two lands was, over and beyond his sense of personal inferiority, a perverted love for an England to which he felt a grotesque sort of loyalty even when he was betraying her. In his twisted mind there does seem to have been the belief that, even when he was taunting the British over the air in the most terrible days of the blitz, he was applauding the proper treatment of a country that he loved but which needed punishment. He seems to have been certain that when the Nazis won and he was returned to London in the position of leadership he merited, the correctly chastened British would welcome him.

**Myth worshiper.** But if a perverted devotion to England, even when she had not appreciated him, was the central theme of Joyce's history, the typically ironic aspect of the theme was that his emotion was directed toward an obsolete England, which had long ceased to exist, if indeed she ever had.

It was an England of imperialism, military leadership, uniforms, natural

aristocracy, popular obedience and the glories of white Anglo-Saxon power; the British Empire of its palmy days, with appropriate fascist improvements in technique. Since Miss West knows that the England Joyce wanted to restore with Nazi trimmings was an obsolete land from a dead past, it is surprising that she refers to him, and thinks of him, as a revolutionist when all her evidence proves that he was a counter-revolutionist and a confirmed enemy of revolution. It was because the Britain of 1939, despite Munich and Chamberlain and the Cliveden Set, was the scene of revolutionary social change that Joyce wanted to help Hitler to punish her.

**Russophobia.** Such a misapprehension is typical of what makes *The Meaning of Treason* so much more impressive in its characterizations than in the conclusions drawn from them. Miss West has a deep suspicion of Russia, scientists and philosophers, and when she thinks of them, she lets her brilliance lead her as far astray as when she gives Joyce that revolutionary label.

She is convinced, for example, that when the Germans tried to form a "Free Corps" among British prisoners to fight the Russians and appealed to England and the United States to join them against the Bolsheviks, they were doing so, not to save themselves by dividing their Eastern and Western enemies, but to mask a plot to make peace with the Kremlin. When she speaks of scientists—it is true she refers to them as "Communist scientists"—who "claim that the advance of science at last made it possible for man to contemplate a planned and abundant economy for the world," she writes contemptuously of their vanity, while she has a way of talking of "Red Fascists" in the manner of a Hearst editorial. And she believes that "the intellectual leaders of their time" profess a philosophy that is "scarcely more than a lapse of memory" and have forgotten "that a hearth gives out warmth."

But such comparatively infrequent moments of aberration do not conceal the stunning brilliance of her case histories of treason.

## APPLIED ECONOMICS

REBUILDING THE WORLD ECONOMY, by Norman S. Buchanan, assisted by Friedrich A. Lutz (Twentieth Century Fund; \$3.50).

No million-dollar public-relations man could have chosen a better time for the publication of a book with this title than the moment when Americans are just beginning to eat less so that Europe can be fed and the great debate on the Marshall Plan is getting under way. Yet *Rebuilding the World Economy* is no "quickie" put together for the emergency; it is a scholarly study by two able economists that has been long in preparation. And, like most projects of the Twentieth Century Fund, it is topped off by the report of a distinguished committee which makes important policy recommendations.

The volume has several types of usefulness. One is its value as a source book of statistical facts and documents bearing on the problem of world trade up to the date of going to press. While the information chosen is winnowed out of a vast granary of material, hardly anything of major relevance is excluded. Some of the facts may startle the non-professional reader. Few know, for instance, that during the war the United States, instead of remaining the world's chief creditor, became again a debtor nation. In my opinion, the authors are guilty of omission in not emphasizing that this is a position due wholly to temporary circumstances and likely soon to be reversed. Nevertheless, it has important implications for the present.

**World production boom.** Another fact, perhaps even more startling, is that the productive capacity of the world for both agricultural and industrial goods, in spite of devastation, was substantially increased during the war years. That this is true of the United States everybody knows, but not that it applies in other countries. South America as well as North America raised food production markedly; Oceania and South Africa enlarged their output of fruit, vegetables,



ENGRAVING BY PIETER BRUEGHEL  
COURTESY LEAR PUBLISHERS

A POOL ON TOP OF A FOUL EGO

### Good Reading: 1947

(The year was distinguished more by compendiums, reprints and translations than by original writing. I have listed ten books here, from my own reading, the first five being a shade more significant or timely than the balance. Following my list are the selections of other regular contributors to "Books in Review."—M. C.)

#### MALCOLM COWLEY

THE AGE OF ANXIETY, by W. H. Auden (Random; \$2.50).

INSIDE USA, by John Gunther (Harper; \$5).

UNDER THE VOLCANO, by Malcolm Lowry (Reynal & Hitchcock; \$3).

THE NOTEBOOKS OF HENRY JAMES, edited by F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (Oxford; \$6).

PRINCE OF DARKNESS AND OTHER STORIES, by J. F. Powers (Doubleday; \$2.75).

THE SHERWOOD ANDERSON READER, edited by Paul Rosenfeld (Houghton Mifflin; \$5).

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRE GIDE, translated by Justin O'Brien (Knopf; \$5).

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI, by Carlo Levi (Farrar, Straus; \$3).

ARTHUR RIMBAUD, by Enid Starkie (Norton; \$5).

THE LAST OF THE PROVINCIALS, by Maxwell Geismar (Houghton Mifflin; \$3.50).

#### JAMES R. NEWMAN

EXPLAINING THE ATOM, by Selig Hecht (Viking; \$2.75).

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS: Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights (US Government Printing Office; \$1. Simon and Schuster; \$1).

PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS, by Bertrand Russell (Macmillan; \$1.75).

SPACE AND SPIRIT, by E. T. Whittaker (Thomas Nelson, London; 6 shillings).

THE JAMES FAMILY, by F. O. Matthiessen (Knopf; \$6.75).

#### RICHARD WATTS JR.

UNDER THE VOLCANO, by Malcolm Lowry (Reynal & Hitchcock; \$3).

INSIDE USA, by John Gunther (Harper; \$5).

DANGER FROM THE EAST, by Richard E. Lauterbach (Harper; \$3.75).

END OF A BERLIN DIARY, by William L. Shirer (Knopf; \$3.50).

REPORT FROM SPAIN, by Emmet John Hughes (Holt; \$3.50).

FOREIGN MUD, by Maurice Collis (Knopf; \$5).

#### JOHN FARRELLY

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRE GIDE, translated by Justin O'Brien (Knopf; \$5).

THE NOTEBOOKS OF HENRY JAMES, edited by F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (Oxford; \$6).

THE CONFESSIONS OF ZENO, by Italo Svevo (New Directions; \$3.50).

THE ROOT AND THE FLOWER, by L. H. Myers (Harcourt, Brace; \$5).

IT MAY NEVER HAPPEN, by V. S. Pritchett (Reynal & Hitchcock; \$2.50).

THE GALLERY, by John Horne Burns (Harper; \$3).

THE VICTIM, by Saul Bellow (Vanguard; \$2.75).

#### GEORGE MAYBERRY

UNDER THE VOLCANO, by Malcolm Lowry (Reynal & Hitchcock; \$3).

THE AGE OF REASON, by Jean-Paul Sartre (Knopf; \$3).

THE REPRIEVE, by Jean-Paul Sartre (Knopf; \$3).

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI, by Carlo Levi (Farrar, Straus; \$3).

TRANSPORT TO SUMMER, by Wallace Stevens (Knopf; \$2.50).

LITERATURE AND MORALITY, by James T. Farrell (Vanguard; \$3).

#### ELIZABETH HULING

A VIEW OF THE HARBOR, by Elizabeth Taylor (Knopf; \$3).

THE STOIC, by Theodore Dreiser (Doubleday; \$3).

MOON GAFFNEY, by Harry Sylvester (Holt; \$2.75).

PRINCE OF DARKNESS AND OTHER STORIES, by J. F. Powers (Doubleday; \$2.75).

EUROPE WITHOUT BAEDAKER, by Edmund Wilson (Doubleday; \$4).

SO EVIL MY LOVE, by Joseph Shearing (Harper; \$2.50).

IN A LONELY PLACE, by Dorothy B. Hughes (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; \$2.50).

LOS ANGELES MURDERS, edited by Craig Rice (Duell, Sloan; \$3).

meat, poultry and eggs 24 percent above prewar; there was a fairly general but smaller expansion of food production in Southern and Eastern Asia. Even Western Europe, North Africa and the Middle East stepped up certain crops, among them fruits, vegetables, edible oils, sugar, and did not fall too far behind on cereals and other staples. Present world famine may be succeeded by world glut with amazing rapidity.

Industrialization of former "backward" regions, often mentioned as a postwar goal, already has made great progress. Canada and Australia enlarged their production of iron and steel, machinery and chemicals, and now can produce all the machine tools they need. India enjoyed a large and varied industrial expansion. Consumers'-goods industries made rapid headway in Latin America. The growth of sources of industrial materials has also been substantial: rubber is perhaps the chief example, since the prewar natural hevea trees proved to be virtually indestructible and have been augmented both by new plantations and by synthetic rubber, making a grand total of 2.75 million tons capacity against a 1939 world consumption of about one million tons. Mineral resources are also greatly increased—though older deposits in the United States and elsewhere are approaching exhaustion.

The optimist may conclude that a worldwide rise in standards of living is no idle dream, provided population growth can be controlled and we can produce as much for living as for killing. The pessimist will point out that such a rapid forced growth and redistribution of production will make for economic trouble and political conflict under more "normal" conditions. If there is a postwar depression due to collapse of demand, it will be a honey.

**The golden dream.** Another value of the book is that it puts in connected form—for the first time so far as I know—the classical theory of international trade, the gold standard, foreign exchange and the like (which operated in the nineteenth century under

the aegis of the London markets for money and commodities), the dislocation caused by World War I, the futile attempt to restore the old order in the 1920's, the shocks and changes brought by the depression of the 1930's, the further and still more revolutionary upsets resulting from World War II, and an assessment of plans and policies for the future. Here is the whole story told in condensed form, but told with accuracy and clarity to save the busy reader the time it takes to consult voluminous theoretical sources and much fragmentary material.

Anyone who still believes in the possibility of restoring the gold standard and the golden age of international trade may be referred to this book for the irrefutable reply of history.

**Stitch in time.** Finally, there are the recommendations to which the book's argument leads—interesting and well considered, even to those who may disagree. The committee endorses the ultimate aim of the United States to restore international trade on a multilateral basis, even if the Soviet-controlled group of nations will not coöperate. But it emphasizes the preliminary need for rehabilitation of the European economies which are candidates for a multilateral system. "The aid furnished must be adequate to do the job; *i.e.*, it must be sufficient to strike a balance in its international payments." Speed is essential. Grants are preferable to loans. And it is the job of the United States. The resources and powers of the International Bank and the Monetary Fund should be reserved for the future, when rehabilitation has gone so far that multilateralism can become a fact instead of an aspiration.

The US, the report continues, has failed in two major respects to fulfil conditions necessary for the success of its own program. It has not provided sufficient reassurance against the recurrence of depression, and it has not sufficiently opened its own doors to competitive imports. As measures for the first purpose, the committee recommends that the International Bank be instructed to use its investments to

moderate the business cycle by accelerating them in time of depression, and that the policy be adopted of building up "buffer stocks" of commodities by buying when prices are low and selling when they are high. For the second, it advises reduction of tariffs, especially during the present period of high prices, of full employment and shortages of consumer goods.

There are flaws in this book. I would disagree with it on minor technical points. It fails to anticipate all the rapid developments of the British crisis. While it points out the great importance of stability in the American economy, it does not indicate how such stability may be sought. Though this was not a part of the authors' assignment, the reader should remember that it is the keystone of the arch.

But if Americans, who often have been accused of being economic illiterates, and who began to learn their ABC's during the period between the wars, could absorb its contents, they would have achieved something like a bachelor's degree in the problem upon the solution of which depends the chance of avoiding another Dark Age.

GEORGE SOULE

## AMONG THE FALLEN

ONE TENDS to have apprehensions about the second book of a talented writer. An incidental delight of *The Victim* (Vanguard; \$2.75), therefore, is that it solidly supports the position among contemporary American writers awarded Saul Bellow for *Dangling Man*.

The conditions and locale of the present novel are middle-class business life in New York. It is wonderfully witty (not in the texture of the writing—here the author has achieved a drabness without dullness, admirably suited to the colorlessness of the scene: cafeterias, rooming houses, subways, etc.), but witty in the delineation of its characters and in the manipulation of its themes.

In midsummer, lonely and depressed by family troubles, Asa Leventhal is a case of city nerves "that had made him acutely responsive, quick to feel."



DRAWING BY DOLBIN

SAUL BELLOW

He senses insecurity, "feeling he was threatened by something while he slept."

At this point, he is visited by Kirby Allbee, a former acquaintance obviously reduced to a derelict, who returns to accuse Leventhal of ruining his life. The truth in the accusation is that Leventhal, indirectly and unintentionally, had been the occasion of Allbee's losing his job. To Leventhal, avid for security and moderately successful, Allbee is a convenient spectre of defeat, representing "that part of humanity of which he was frequently mindful . . . the part that did not get away with it—the lost, the outcast, the overcome, the effaced, the ruined." Allbee exploits these scruples, and making the "general wrong" of human inequality a particular one, points at Leventhal "and said 'You!'"

In creating Allbee, the author let himself go and has produced the classic wreck. Having drowned his honor in a sea of whiskey, he rattles on about his New England ancestry. Blaming the Jews for destroying the traditions of that ancestry, he preys on Leventhal's virtues of order and justice to his own advantage. He is a philosopher who nourishes his mind on the half-truths of self-deception. He has perverted his cleverness and critical discernment to lies and bluff, carried on the hot wind of blustering rhetoric. He sobs about his dead wife into Leventhal's ear, and at a showdown

escapes under cover of the whine, "I know I have a fallen nature."

His perfect counterpart is Leventhal, the Jew, honest and self-searching, who has equated his own personality and traditions with urban life and learned to make the current support him, while Allbee merely floats on the warm stream of liquor, expatiating: "The day of succeeding by your own efforts is past. Now it is all blind movement, vast movement, and the individual is shuttled back and forth."

**The self-condemned.** The title, as it refers to Allbee, is ironic. He is the self-styled victim who preys on his persecutor, gradually usurping his life until he is settled in his bed. Actually, he is such a complete character that nobody could touch him. For Leventhal, on the other hand, unease is the condition of his being. He broods on some imaginary "blacklist" in the business world which proves the conspiracy he suspects. And the question always recurs: Was *he* a victim, as a Jew? If so, "then the turn he always feared had come and all good luck was canceled and all favors melted away."

Placed in relation to each other, the victim victimizing the victimizer, their opposite problems define their characters and contain their solution. This is the crux of the book, the wit of it and the wisdom of it. For Leventhal, a successful man, the problem is to rest upon the money-security he has achieved, and to believe in the possibility and efficacy of the good life he tries to lead. Allbee, the failure, must admit his collapse and believe in the reality of the evil he flaunts as a protective disguise. JOHN FARRELY

## POSTSCRIPT

LETTER FROM GROSVENOR SQUARE, by John Gilbert Winant (Houghton Mifflin; \$3).

A PAINFUL HONESTY distinguishes this book. The author has sacrificed nuances of style and dramatic presentation of situations and events in an apparently compelling desire to be absolutely fair. He tells *all* the facts of a situation, explains clearly on exactly what records or personal experiences

he bases his statements and pays tribute individually to the many men and women—American, British and Allied—whose contributions to the common cause, he believed, "cannot be overestimated" and should not be overlooked.

The reason behind this is obvious. The book was written in "the growing disillusionment of today; which not only dims and obscures the present, but is trying to cloud the past." Winant has attempted to recapture a part of that past, to show what human beings can accomplish when they put aside personal or selfish considerations and to point once again to the inescapable moral that these things can be accomplished only collectively, by joint effort and joint sacrifice.

This is, first of all, the story of the closest wartime cooperation in history between two nations. It is also an account of the author's stewardship as Ambassador to Great Britain, and of the British war effort. It covers only the year 1941—from the time of Winant's appointment, to the attack on Pearl Harbor. But there is a constant awareness of the past events the author saw—in the International Labor Office in Geneva; during the Battle of Britain in London; in the government in Washington—and of what the outcome of each act was to be.

There are almost no references to the present. Only once, after Winant has discussed the two-way implications of the Lend-Lease Act and the considerable contributions Britain made to America in scientific and technical knowledge, does he add a final appeal: "If, on the morn of the Atomic Age, we persist in once more hog-tying the diversity of talents and natural resources that can be contributed by all nations, we will assuredly plunge ourselves into mutual destruction and turn our backs on the living possibility of a Golden Age."

It is easy to see why Winant was the most popular Ambassador the United States ever sent to Britain. He genuinely and unsentimentally appreciated the British. His book is the record of an American who loved his country but thought primarily in terms of humanity. ANNE L. GOODMAN

## BANDWAGON

### Happy Landing

Real-estate brokers predicted today that home-construction costs will continue to soar for "a few months," then level off at prices double those of 1939. —UP dispatch from San Francisco.

### Family Portrait

The women's auxiliary of the Republican County Committee offered free classes in nonpartisan politics. A tremendous photograph of Governor Dewey decorated their booth. —From the New York Times.

### Siss, Boom, Bethlehem!

If the people could get the facts of business competition as they do get the facts of sports competition, I believe they would root for their favorite corporations as enthusiastically as they root for their favorite teams. —From a Letter to the Editor in the Wall Street Journal.

### Solution

... Byrnes said that if the Soviet government refused to accept a German peace settlement based on the decision of two-thirds of the members of the conference, then the rest of the nations "should go ahead without them."

"This would not be making a separate peace," he said. "It would simply be saying that no one nation can veto peace on earth." —From the New York Times.

### Red Herring

James F. O'Neill, national commander of the American Legion, tonight defended the House Un-American Activities Committee. ... Those who attempt to vilify the committee, he added, were trying to inject "a phony issue—the Bill of Rights—into the dispute." —UP dispatch from Manchester, New Hampshire.

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. —The Editors

# Givers' Guide



## Novels for today

**HOUSE DIVIDED** by Ben Ames Williams—America's number one best seller, the story of men and women whose courage divided a world and whose wisdom reunited it. Two volume edition, \$10.00. Regular edition, \$5.00.

**HOPE OF EARTH** by Margaret Lee Runbeck, author of "The Great Answer"—A novel about Stephen and Amoret Phelps, and the real builders of our western plains. \$3.00.

**THE ILLUSTRATED ROBE** by Lloyd C. Douglas, paintings by Dean Cornwell—Eight great scenes in this beloved book have been illustrated in full color for a new anniversary edition. \$5.00

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**U. S. A.** by John Dos Passos, illustrations by Reginald Marsh—An American classic in a handsome three-volume edition illustrated with over 400 line drawings. \$12.50.

## Events yesterday and today

**ACROSS THE WIDE MISSOURI** by Bernard De Voto—96 pages of pictures in full color and black-and-white and over 500 pages of intensely moving writing tell the story of the six years which made a continent a nation. Limited edition, \$25.00. Regular edition, \$10.00.

**WAR AS I KNEW IT** by Gen. George S. Patton, Jr.—The General speaks for himself and we see the man in all his color and greatness. \$3.00.

**LETTER FROM GROSVENOR SQUARE** by John Gilbert Winant—An informed account of events in the crucial months of 1941 by an ex-ambassador to Britain. \$3.00.

**SALEM AND THE INDIES** by James Duncan Phillips—The exciting story of a town when its ships were found in every port of the world. \$6.00.

**NEW LETTERS OF ABIGAIL ADAMS** edited by Stewart Mitchell—141 lively letters of a First Lady to her sister about men and things in the formative years. \$5.00.

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**AMERICAN PAINTING: FIRST FLOWERS OF OUR WILDERNESS** by James Thomas Flexner—Over 180 paintings reproduced in black-and-white and full color by which Mr. Flexner reconstructs early American life. \$10.00.

**THE LAST OF THE PROVINCIALS** by Maxwell Geismar, author of "Writers in Crisis"—Second in a lively, authoritative series on American literature covering five writers from 1915 to 1925. \$3.50.

**AMERICAN MEMOIR** by Henry Seidel Canby—The richly anecdotal account of the key years and key figures in American literature. \$5.00.

**THE SHERWOOD ANDERSON READER** edited by Paul Rosenfeld—The best of an increasingly-popular American writer including much out-of-print and previously unpublished material. \$5.00.

## Books for daily use

**THE BASIC COOK BOOK** by Marjorie Heseltine and Ula M. Dow—"Good Cooking" readited with a 96-page supplement of how-to-do-it photographs. \$3.00.

**A FIELD GUIDE TO THE SHELLS** by Percy Morris—Third in the series edited by Roger Tory Peterson, covering 102 species of the mollusks of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. \$3.50.

**A FIELD GUIDE TO THE BIRDS** by Roger Tory Peterson—Over 1000 illustrations, all new, in this second revised edition of a famous book covering all the birds east of the Great Plains. \$3.50.

## Books for children

**SONG OF ROBIN HOOD** edited by Anne Malcolmson, illustrated by Virginia Lee Burton—Fifteen of the Robin Hood ballads, magnificently illustrated, a truly beautiful book. \$5.00.

**THE LITTLE HISTORY OF THE WIDE WORLD** by Mable Pyne—World history from its beginnings told in full color continuous illustrations. Ages 9-up. \$2.50.

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## FARM: Next Year's Food

**O**NE PART of the New Deal you may be sure the Republicans will never touch is the national plan for food and crop production worked out about this time every year by Department of Agriculture economists, farm leaders and others.

The national crop-acreage goal for 1948, just announced, is 356 million acres, one of the greatest in United States history. In 1947, the total acreage harvested was 347 million.

In working out the plan, account was taken of food and feed on hand and the needs of Europe for cereal crops. But if the price of feed in relation to the price of meat continues to be so low, the farmer can make more by feeding his wheat to his cattle and hogs.

And that is where the rub comes. The farmer naturally objects to selling his wheat or corn if he can make more out of it by "finishing off" a steer. Finishing off means feeding the steer excessive quantities of grain so that he will change from "good" grade to "choice" grade.

**Choice cuts.** Although the process of finishing off a steer doesn't add much in actual food value, the quality of his steaks becomes finer, and the farmer gets a premium price for him. The sad thing about the whole business is that finished-off steers prevent hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat from reaching empty European stomachs.

Department of Agriculture meat experts tell me that if all cattle were slaughtered at the "good" stage, 1.7 million more steers could be raised without additional grain and 200 million additional extra pounds of meat and 140 million pounds of nutrients would be available. The same thing is true for hogs.

In order to export more grain, the number of animals and fowls is being reduced and will be cut still further in 1948. Pressure is being put on poultrymen to reduce their flocks by culling

out the poor layers, and pig men are urged to farrow only a limited number of sows for spring production. The spring pig crop will be cut from 53 million to 50 million.

**Food v. feed.** An interesting sidelight on the fall food-conservation campaign was the abortive attempt to introduce poultryless days into American diets, thereby increasing the number of grain-eating chickens. As someone pointed out, a live chicken eats more grain than a dead one.

The feed-conservation campaign seems to have had little effect. Even though farm organizations have endorsed it, and Edward A. O'Neal, president of the Farm Bureau Federation, reported in Washington after a tour of the country, that everybody was in favor of it, there is little proof that farmers are paying any attention. The Department of Agriculture estimates that efficient feeding practices would save 345 million bushels of grain over what is normally used. But for the week ending November 15, 35.5 percent of steers slaughtered at Chicago were "choice" and "prime," and 41.8 percent were "good." This is about the average.

Average weights of slaughtered hogs have gone down a little, but the most important reason was undoubtedly the short corn crop and a desire of pig growers to reduce their winter feeding.

It is expected that the feeding of wheat during 1947-48 will reach 250 million bushels. Despite the fact that this is 65 million more than was fed last year, we hope that the US can export 500 million by June 30 and still

have 150 million bushels left. This year we had a balance of 84 million.

The plan for 1948 will of course affect American consumers. You will eat on the average 10 pounds less meat than in 1947 but 20 pounds more than before the war. You will also eat less chicken in 1948, but one-quarter more than prewar. The supply of eggs will be reduced, but even so there will be 375 per capita. You will also pay higher prices in 1948.

**The tired land.** Another angle which should be considered is soil conservation. One of Secretary Anderson's aides who helped work out the very high acreage of soil-robbing crops told me that the department would come out with a statement (similar to the one it made last year) to the effect that the goals do not permit a return to soil conservation and sound long-time use, and asking farmers again to delay planting of crops which will conserve the soil.

So next year America's soil bank balance will drop once more, and as Hugh Bennett, chief of the Soil Conservation Service, said recently, another half-million acres will go down the drain. The seriousness of cropping to the limit is pointed out by a USDA publication (*Long-Range Agricultural Policy*), just off the press. In this book is a dull table which may be summarized as follows: of the 300 million acres that are plowed at least once a season, 180 million are subject to impairment and only 120 million may be cultivated without damage.

This is something to ponder. Because if intensive cropping and increase in population go on for many more years, we will arrive at a point where we can't even feed ourselves, much less the Europeans.

ANGUS McDONALD



## RADIO

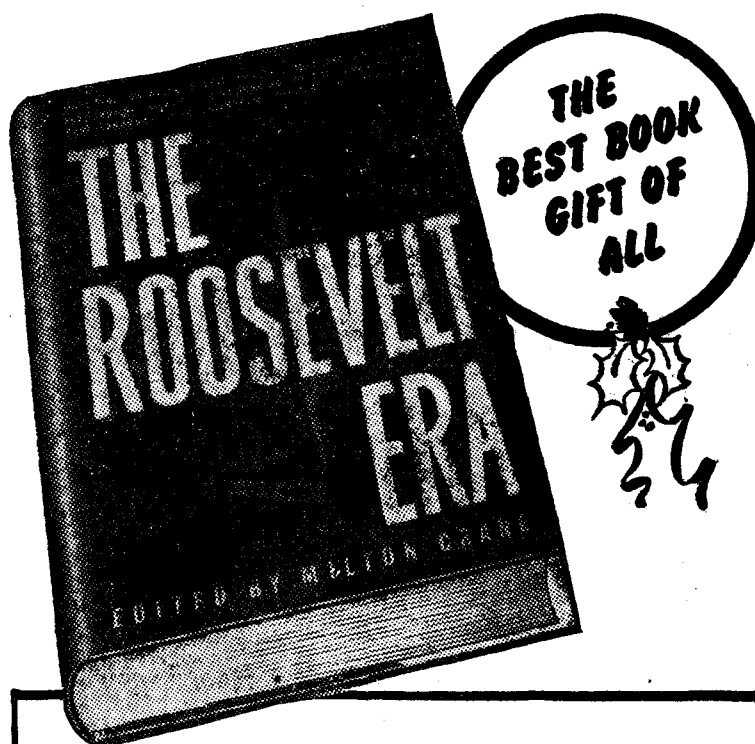
### Gadgets and Labor

**S**INCE RADIO is the century's outstanding gadget, the field naturally abounds in thingumajigs. Two new devices have been announced recently. One of them, developed by CBS, is intended to record electronically, instantaneously and automatically what the nation's sets are tuned to, if at all. It is called IAMS (Instantaneous Audience Measurement Service) and is said to apply radar to listening-detective purposes.

The other is a contraption poorly regarded by radio advertisers. Its aim is to help you tune out the commercial. You attach this whatsit to your set, wait for the sponsor's plug, throw a little switch—and your loudspeaker is silent for the number of seconds you think the commercial will consume. Some people went into a tizzy when the thing was announced, but it took only a week or so for a network psychologist to come up with the balm. The braintruster reasoned that the listener employing this aural eraser must cock his ear carefully to listen for the commercial as well as to compute its exact length. Want a blueprint?

The playback machine is a piece of gear in more common use than either of the two latest inventions. This super-gramophone makes it possible for a reviewer in New York to listen to local programs originating, say, on the West Coast. I have just heard several such shows, and I give you now a report by transcription from San Francisco.

**Labor forum.** Nightly over KGO, San Francisco's ABC station (owned and operated by the network), comes a 15-minute news commentary by one Sidney Roger. Not far away from KGO's sumptuous studios is the office of a firm called Pax Productions, which is in the business of "custom-built radio packages and recordings." Roger and Pax have a good deal in common. Their viewpoint is frankly the approach of progressive labor. Pax pro-



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— *Amy Loveman, Book-of-the-Month Club News*

**Edited by MILTON CRANE**  
**Foreword by JONATHAN DANIELS**



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duces dramatic shows which it sells to labor organizations for free airing or sponsorship over local stations or for playing at meetings, rallies, etc. Roger has a sponsor: 56 local CIO unions in Northern California.

Pax has just produced its second series of shows, six 15-minute dramas called "It's Up to You." The first series, "We Are Many People," consisted of 13 transcriptions which have already been played on 58 stations.

In each case the time was donated.

The surprise in the Pax shows, to a reviewer trained to believe that good professional radio belongs exclusively to New York, Chicago and Hollywood, is precisely the high professionalism of the productions. The messages they present are controversial; the aim is strictly educational; but the whole is written with good humor, acted without sledge-hammer technique and avoids both tear-jerking and

arm-twisting. The sparkplug behind the venture seems to be Carol Levene, chairman of the San Francisco unit of the Radio Writers' Guild.

**The old one-two.** If the Pax shows were a revelation, Roger's broadcasts were a shock. I haven't heard such hard-hitting commentary on commercial radio since Johannes Steele went off the air in New York. Roger has an even, dispassionate tone which lets the words and ideas sink in without rancor. He says what he pleases—and what very few radiomen have ever said on commercial programs.

I've seen some of the correspondence from the files of James San Jule, radio director for the Northern California CIO. San Jule speaks up every time there is a threat to Roger's freedom, time-slot or tenure. He writes to the Federal Communications Commission, wires to ABC-network heads in New York, rallies Roger's 100,000 CIO sponsors in Northern California and puts Roger's opponents on the spot. But all this activity and backing would be worthless if the CIO did not have in Roger a first-rate news commentator as a rallying point. He has reliable news sources, ample radio resourcefulness and a voice with poise and authority.

**Gaeth and Shirer.** In addition to Dorothy Fuldheim, whom I mentioned recently as the commentator on ABC for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, there is only one other sponsored labor program on the nets now. That's Arthur Gaeth's weekly appearance (Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.) on Mutual, plus a number of independent stations—about 60 in all—for the United Electrical Workers, CIO. Mutual has also just brought back to the air, Sundays at one, another liberal commentator, William L. Shirer. I was not among those who were terribly excited some six months ago when Shirer was axed by CBS. I was on the network's side in that instance because I was convinced that Shirer's CBS demise had nothing to do with his liberalism. However, it's good to have him before a microphone again.

SAUL CARSON



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## LABOR: First Fruits

**I** TRUST the authors of the Taft-Hartley Act are satisfied with the chaos they have caused in the newspaper publishing and the printing business generally, and with the possibility that newspaper labor relations will be embittered for years as a result of virtually open warfare between the publishers and the International Typographical Union.

At the time of this writing, six Chicago newspapers are printing photo-engraved issues while their ITU employees are walking pre-Christmas "token" picket lines.

In Rockville Centre, Long Island, the publishers of the *Nassau Daily Review-Star* rejected what *Editor and Publisher*, trade organ of the newspaper industry, called a "conciliatory offer" to settle an ITU "work stoppage."

In Baltimore the office of the National Labor Relations Board ordered further hearings on unfair-labor-practice charges filed against ITU Local 12 by the Graphic Arts League, a group of commercial printshops. In Cincinnati another unfair-labor-practice charge was filed by the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association (SNPA) against 130 locals of the ITU. Counsel for the Southern publishers is the celebrated "New Deal" Washington law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter.

I do not think there is much doubt that the SNPA and other publishers' groups will win their NLRB cases against the ITU. But I think it equally clear that the "war" between publishers and their printers will bring no glorious victories for either side.

**Closed shop.** The issue in all the fights is clear: the Taft-Hartley Act prohibits a closed-shop contract, and the ITU is attempting to avoid the terms of this prohibition.

The technique of the ITU is to avoid signing a written contract and to carry on work at each newspaper shop under union-posted "conditions of employment." If the publisher meets the "conditions of employment" he will

have printers; if he doesn't, he won't.

The Arnold, Fortas and Porter complaint in the Cincinnati NLRB case, which is an excellent statement of the publishers' viewpoint, says that the "conditions-of-employment" technique destroys genuine collective bargaining and that the ITU is attempting to "force SNPA members to become conspirators" in the violation of national and state provisions against the closed shop. The publishers assert that refusal by the union to sign a written contract is itself an unfair labor practice.

Here is where the publishers probably will win. The NLRB and the federal courts held in earlier years that refusal by an employer to sign a written contract with a union was an unfair labor practice. The same principle will doubtless be applied to unions.

**Wrong remedy.** But clarifying these legal matters is not curing industrial relations in the newspaper industry. The closed shop worked well for most newspapers, including scores which now have been drawn into a pitched battle with the ITU. Because of the closed shop the ITU has grown strong enough to protect its members and raise earnings. The ITU also engaged in some unfortunate practices. It restricted the number of apprentices and thus controlled the whole labor supply, and it required publishers to pay for "bogus work" under undeniable featherbedding rules. But it was not necessary to break the union, or endanger its legitimate aims, to attack such evils.

I don't know when the Taft-Hartley Act will be repealed or drastically amended. But the law is clearly responsible—right now—for labor war in the newspaper industry. Intelligent managements and intelligent unions will be able to work out techniques for avoiding the harsher terms of the measure. These terms will then become a dead letter whether or not they are formally repealed.

WILLARD SHELTON

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## POSITIONS WANTED

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**AUTHOR-JOURNALIST**, nationally known, three books, now columnist, finds self between books and needing project, magazine assignment, news work, public relations, ghost writing, or kindred occupation. Tel. WAdsworth 7-5253.

**PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION WANTED**. A retired professor who has moved to New York from the West and has no connections in this big metropolis wants to work—part time—for an organization devoted to peace and the common man. Purpose of work is essential. Pay is secondary. Box 41, *The New Republic*.

## RESEARCH

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## FOREIGN PRESS: The Jaundiced Eye

**D**URING FIVE MONTHS of watching foreign-press reactions to the Marshall Plan—the Left unanimously and violently opposed, the Right unanimously and violently in favor—this column has noticed a slow but evident cooling of rightist enthusiasm.

**La BATAILLE** This new and reserved point of view is illustrated by an article front-paged in the French extreme-rightist weekly *La Bataille*: "To Save Europe or to Enslave Her." The article, signed by Paul Gérin, begins by summarizing both sides of the question—an unusual approach these days. It lists Moscow-inspired objections to the plan: "The dollars loaned will be soldiers of American influence just as much as are Flying Fortresses, the atom bomb, Tarzan and chewing gum. Truman is paving the way for Wall Street domination of Western Europe. . . . The Marshall Plan is a life belt for the drowning American economy."

It then lists the American-inspired answers: "Look at the past. Read the pronouncements of [American] politicians. Is there anything to indicate motives other than saving Europe from misery? . . . What has Wall Street to do with it all?"

But these ideological arguments, says Gérin, are only façades of the basic and diametrically opposed aims of the US and Russia. Soviet policy-makers foresee, first, overproduction, then widespread unemployment in the US, followed by worldwide depression, scattered outcroppings of fascism and the ultimate triumph of communism. That is why, writes Gérin, Russia refused to join the Marshall Plan and preferred to sit back and wait, letting the US make commitments it could never meet.

In the opposite camp, the US has its own plan. The chaotic economic conditions of 1929 taught Americans "the mortal danger to capitalism inherent in sterile and egoistic isolationism." Today America knows that, hav-

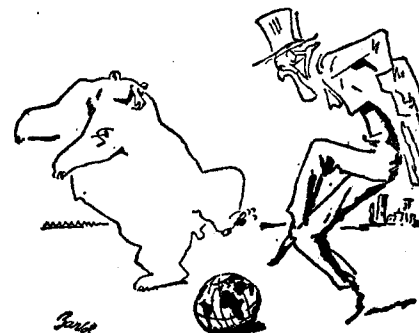
ing amassed four-fifths of the world's gold reserves, she must make credits available "or choke to death on her gold and her overflowing granary."

Economic rather than humanitarian considerations furnish the impetus to the Marshall Plan, warns Gérin, and since capitalism "has few principles and no memory," he cautions against blind acceptance of US aid. Debtor nations have but one safeguard: Marshall's aid must not be permitted to flow directly from the US to the recipient, but must be administered by the 16-nation body of the Paris conference, "a group which has no intention of being led by the nose."

**action.** Some few weeks ago the French Communist correspondent Pierre Courtade, at first refused a US visa, finally got in to cover the UN General Assembly on condition that he refrain from "subversive activities" and remain within the precincts of the UN and New York City.

Now back in France, where, at least for the time being, he can go, speak and write as he pleases, Courtade publishes his impressions of America in the Communist weekly *L'Action*. A few excerpts give the flavor of the sort of thing our State Department feared.

"Anyone entering the US without knowing English would, within a few hours, learn two words: Coca-Cola, and Red," writes Courtade. "The word 'Red' covers all individuals, groups and institutions which doubt that America is the best of all possible worlds." This attempt to foster group



ROME'S RIGHTIST "RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE"

hallucinations of a Red menace is intended to "divert the attention of the masses who have seen their standard of living lowered by at least 30 percent within a few months," and to prevent their thinking up solutions that "might imperil the privileges of the minority for whom the American Way of Life is not just a fantasy."

Courtade guesses that it will soon be necessary to do more than stage Hollywood Red hunts "to explain to the Flatbush-Manhattan subway rider how he is menaced by the Bulgarian government or why the Russian navy is not cruising in the Gulf of Mexico."

American foreign-policy-makers, he writes, incapable of justifying their expansionist course to the American people, are resorting to "conspiratorial techniques," aided and abetted by the American press. Certain problems are no longer discussed, certain questions no longer asked.

Courtade asks Americans "to abandon their world of fantasies, lies, bad consciences and price-tagged 'lines,' and try instead to discover the motives and principles behind a foreign policy which threatens both peace and democracy."

**L'Italia Socialista** On October 13, this column reported the rise and wane of post-Mussolini Italy's first Neo-Fascist politician, Guglielmo Giannini. Since then, both Giannini and his L'Uomo Qualunque (Common Man Front) Party have slid even further toward political oblivion. On October 28, Giannini resigned from the presidency of the party created by him, his anti-government and therefore Communist-aligned stand eclipsed by the violently anti-Communist agitation of his leading deputy, Enzo Selvaggi. By November 8, Selvaggi was expelled and the entire party threatened to fall apart.

Now an item in Rome's *L'Italia Socialista* writes the epitaph: a string of Roman restaurants and hotels that gave unlimited credit to Qualunquists during their September convention in Rome are suing Giannini in person for payment of accumulated party bills amounting to 14 million lire.

EVA PUTNAM

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Cross of Gold

SIR: Last night's edition of one of Panama's leading newspapers ran a story on Canal Zone officials' comments on the recent report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. Inasmuch as the committee found unwarranted segregation in the zone, the paper, kowtowing to American interests, saw fit to label as "Pink" such eminent committee members as Charles E. Wilson of General Motors.

Officials of the Gold Roll (in its own quaint way, zone argot refers not to white and black but to Gold and Silver) stated that their form of segregation was most convenient for both races and would not be changed.

Far too little publicity is given to Jim Crowism in the Canal Zone. Silver workers are paid wages below those of the whites for comparable work; they have separate commissaries; tables in the post office are designated as "Gold" and "Silver." Perhaps the most flagrant example of this prejudice is displayed by little Hitler MP's guarding the gates of military posts. Though we are at peace, passes are required for entrance to the posts. If Americans neglect to bring their passes, nothing is said; but in the case of black Panamanians and West Indian Negroes, it is a different story. . . .

We have obviously built up a venomous hatred for ourselves, which will probably never be dispelled. It is too deep. And for this the United States bears full responsibility.

I regret that I must remain anonymous in the event that you see fit to publish this letter, since I must rely on the US Government for employment here and its employees are not permitted freedom of thought or speech in such publications as yours.

Ancon, Canal Zone

### Academic Anti-Semitism

SIR: In the article in the November 3 *New Republic*, entitled "U. S. Anti-Semitism Today," you have inadvertently done New York University a grave injustice. . . . The form which you have published as an inset, with the inference that it is an application blank to be filled out for admission to our School of Education, has nothing whatever to do with admission and, further, the application blanks of none of our schools make any reference to race or religion. The blank which you have published in your article is a sup-

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plementary information blank, which the student may fill out if he chooses after he has been accepted. . . .

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HARRY WOODBURN CHASE  
Chancellor, New York University  
New York City

SIR: It is certainly true that New York University is far more liberal in its entrance requirements than many American colleges. I have before me, however, the application blank for the current year of the New York University College of Medicine, which has, on page 2, requirements for the photograph of the applicant and a statement as to his "mother's maiden name." The current application blank for admission to the (NYU) Washington Square College of Arts and Science also makes both these requirements.

Since similar requirements on the application blanks of many other colleges

are well known to be part of the machinery of a *numerus clausus* (an arbitrary percentage of Jews), NYU could make a useful gesture toward the application of democratic principles by removing them.

Just for the record, New York University was not mentioned in the article to which Chancellor Chase refers. We did publish a photographic reproduction of a blank used in NYU's School of Education, containing a space for "religious denomination," which we ran without comment.

New York City

BRUCE BLIVEN

#### Objection Sustained

SIR: I protest against the *New Republic* fostering racial hatred and causing disunion by publishing the slurring and defamatory attack on a minority group, the Gypsies, which appeared in its issue of October 13, *You're being gypped IF*.

I object to your use of the US mails to expose the Gypsies to hatred, contempt, ridicule and obloquy, causing them to be shunned and avoided, injuring them in their occupations, employment and other economic activities. . . .

HELEN O'LOCHLAINN CROWE  
New York City

## MOVIES

### Mourning Becomes Electra

**T**HE JOINT Theatre Guild-RKO production of "Mourning Becomes Electra" is an honorable endeavor and an unhappy failure. It tries, sincerely and painstakingly, to bring some artistic stature to the screen, but it becomes involved in such a series of misunderstandings about what is being attempted and how it can be accomplished that the result is not tragedy, not acting, and not a motion picture.

The original mistake was made by Eugene O'Neill when he wrote the play 16 years ago. In trying to transpose the absolute moral conflict of the Greek original to the more comfortable level of New England experience, he lost the tragedy and produced a morbid and rather pretentious melodrama. A hoopskirt and a Puritan conscience did not, it appeared, become Electra.

The picture now approaches this modern transcript with such deference that out of the melodrama it has created something very close to farce. If no one had told the on the whole very capable cast that they were to interpret a story of such nobility as to be unsurpassed in 2,000 years of literary history, they might have recognized the script in their hands as a rousing account of multiple suicide and murder and played it with some semblance of relaxed authority.

**Deep water.** As it is, Katina Paxinou alone of the company has the face and the presence to fit her for the solemn and terrible business at hand. The rest are so obviously overawed by the roles assigned them that you suspend judgment, as at a high-school play, and applaud them for having worked so hard to memorize their lines. At the same time, you may question the good sense of whoever asked them to venture so far beyond their understanding.

But if Rosalind Russell, Raymond Massey and Henry Hull are unable to lift the Electra legend to the plane of

## Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ himself write down any record of his life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote!

Who, then, wrote the Christian Gospels? And when were they written? By some historian after the death of Christ? Or are these Gospels merely myths and legends handed down to us from a civilization that existed long before the time of Christ?

At last you can get the FACTS about Christ and the Christian Church in a startling new book just off the press called "A Shield Has Two Sides" written by the eminent author, scholar and historian Wallace Stockwell.

Here is a book for people who are not afraid to look reality in the face! A book for men and women who refuse to wear mental blinders! It reveals TRUTHS about the Christian Church of today—both Catholic and Protestant—that will shock many. For it pulls no punches and presents facts known to but few.

"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. Send only \$1.00 in full payment.

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classic tragedy where they have been directed to perform it, Michael Redgrave has the distinction of tumbling the whole affair down to the level of burlesque. He plays the son (Orestes, that would be) with an air of such honest bewilderment, he tries so eagerly to match the blazing emotions of the others, and he fails so notably to make his gestures coincide with his speech that the night I was there the audience gave up and laughed. Once an audience begins laughing at Electra there is little you can do but ring down the curtain; the more the horrors are poured on, the funnier it is going to seem.

**Facsimile.** On the technical side, "Mourning Becomes Electra" is not really a failure as a picture; it just doesn't exist at all. Except for one or two scenes which are only described in O'Neill's text and which are quite unnecessary for the action, the film is almost a word-for-word, set-for-set attempt to photograph a stage play. The effect is as though you had installed a telephoto lens in the rear of the balcony and recorded what was taking place behind the footlights below.

The only thing that Dudley Nichols' timidly uncreative approach succeeds in proving is that the closeup is a poor device for registering passion. Emotions and gestures and speeches which might have a grandeur across the sweep of a stage become painful or, worse still, ludicrous at a distance



REDGRAVE . . . RUSSELL . . . PAXINOU

of six inches from the eye of the audience. It's a kind of intimacy that the greatest acting could not tolerate.

The Guild and RKO have tried hard to carry the movies a big step forward with this film. All they have done, in the probable event of a financial failure, is to provide one more case in point for those who claim that the public doesn't want good films. The fact that this one isn't good is unlikely to affect the argument—no one can pretend it isn't culture.

**Italian import.** Although Aldo Fabrizi, the magnificent priest of "Open City," is the star of the new Italian film, "To Live in Peace," the picture itself seems to derive from French films of "The Baker's Wife" school, and Fabrizi manages to act very much like Raimu. The comparison, clearly, is no insult to film or actor, but it does make you wonder whether the Italians are now going to copy France's successful export luxury. It would be too bad, for "Open City" and "Shoe-Shine" have proved that they have a vintage product of their own.

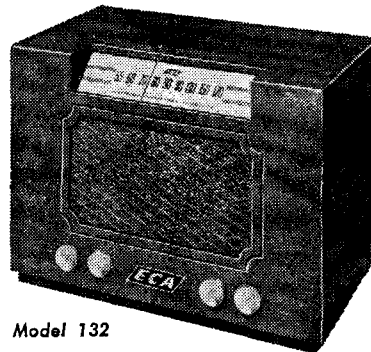
"To Live in Peace" describes in comic and gently sentimental terms the attempt of some remote mountain villagers to keep clear of the German occupation—which they do successfully until a couple of escaped GI's turn up to touch their simple peasant hearts.

Unfortunately for the underlying but apparent propaganda purpose of the film, one of these GI's is a Negro who, as soon as he is hidden in the wine cellar, proceeds to get roaring drunk and go careening down the street in the embrace of an equally sozzled German.

It is apparent that the producers designed this sequence without realizing how it would look to audiences sensitized to racial discrimination; other scenes with the Negro express the unselfconscious curiosity and friendliness of a people to whom an "African" is a novelty. But in America, the scene (essential to the plot) is ugly and will alienate the groups that would respond most quickly to the film's plea for an appreciation of the spiritual valor of the Italian people.

R. L. H.

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## MUSIC: Season for Heroes

**B**EFORE THE WAR Harald Kreutzberg was widely considered the greatest of all male solo dancers. The vigor, theatrical power and originality in his movement and pantomime were electric in their excitement and immediate in their communication. Since 1938 he has lived in Germany and German-occupied Europe, surviving the Nazi rule as conveniently as possible without either collaborating in it or taking a stand against it. While the world went to pieces, he remained passive, carefully schooling himself to avoid political or social comment in the dances he willingly performed.

As a consequence the Kreutzberg who returned to New York was a weaker, less arresting artist, for when his maturity was challenged he refused to grow. Externally, nothing has changed about his dancing. But he has nothing new and nothing important to say, and a devoted audience which came expecting to be moved went away merely charmed.

**The big show.** The Metropolitan Opera opened its sixty-third season with Verdi's "A Masked Ball," and gave an inattentive first-night crowd several intimations of the old-time grand manner. Daniza Ilitsch, the Yugoslav soprano who joined the company at the tag end of last season, sang the music of Amelia with such beautiful line and so firm an understanding of the traditional ways of achieving color and impact that her rather too frequent imperfections of tone quality did not seem very important.

Giuseppe Antonicelli, freshly imported from Italy, proved to be the first satisfactory conductor of Italian repertory the Metropolitan has found in a long time. Leonard Warren made a big thing of the celebrated aria, "Eri tu che macchiavi," and generally proved that he is the Met's first top-flight American baritone since Lawrence Tibbett.

The momentum with which the season began did not carry over into

subsequent performances of Wagner's "Tannhäuser" or two Mozart operas, "The Magic Flute" and "Don Giovanni."

**Unequal battle.** It is good to have Dame Myra Hess back with us as an annual visitor. No other pianist seems quite so comfortably at home with music. She knows how fully it is able



to convey its own message, and she does not try to give it artificial aid.

Unhappily her recent performance of the Mozart E-flat concerto (Köchel No. 449) with Leopold Stokowski and the New York Philharmonic did not let her present the music successfully in the light in which she saw it. Stokowski, who does not admire simplicity, called upon the orchestra for a dramatic overstatement which threw the whole performance out of scale tonally and tended to obliterate the whole point of Miss Hess's refusal to use salesmanship in music which can speak for itself. It was not a great day for her or for Mozart.

**Records.** To celebrate the centenary of Mendelssohn's death on November 4, Columbia has issued a recording of his biggest and most famous work, the oratorio "Elijah" (Columbia MM-715, two albums; \$22.70, with tax). Except for Harold Williams, a sympathetic and resolute Elijah, the participants are those who made last spring's magnificent "Messiah" set—Sir Malcolm Sargent, the Huddersfield Choral Society, the Liverpool Philharmonic

Orchestra; and Isobel Baillie, soprano, Gladys Ripley, contralto, and James Johnston, tenor. The performance has the same animation and fine sonority and the same assurance and authenticity of style. But the music of "Elijah" is no rival for the "Messiah."

There is much pleasure in the beautiful blending and balance of the choral parts and in the graceful flow of melody in a chorus like "He watching over Israel" or the solo, "Lord God of Abraham." But the dramatic passages lack guts—a quality neither Mendelssohn nor our Victorian forebears would have thought desirable.

**Russian music.** The seventh symphony by Dimitri Shostakovich, allegedly an apotheosis of Russian heroism during the siege of Leningrad, was presented throughout the US with immense fanfare in 1942 and immediately forgotten. Now, after five years, William Steinberg and the Buffalo Philharmonic have recorded the 70-minute score (Musicraft M-83; \$10.50). In *The Other Side of the Record* (Knopf; \$3.50), a diverting and often quite informative account of his behind-the-scenes activities as chief of RCA Victor's Red Seal department, Charles O'Connell dismisses "the purported historic connotations" of the symphony, claiming to be "reliably informed" that most of the symphony was written long before Leningrad.

If O'Connell's facts are correct, they show the flexibility of Soviet propaganda, but they do not alter the artistic status of the symphony. It was always a work in which bombast greatly outweighed good ideas.

Some other releases of Russian music are more inviting. The ninth symphony of Shostakovich, only half as long as the seventh (Columbia MM-688; \$5.85, with tax; Efrem Kurtz and the New York Philharmonic Symphony), is certainly twice as diverting.

Tschaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin," the most popular of all Russian operas in its native land, can now be obtained in a mechanically imperfect but artistically effective version by Soviet musicians (Disc 755, two volumes; \$28.56, with tax).

CECIL SMITH

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

In this page, the New Republic publishes several departments of informational and news advertising in the field of communications. Advertisements, to be acceptable, must be factual in character or objectively descriptive, or they can be recommendations by authorities or critics. Ads are listed by category, in the form of a directory, to give you easy access to the fields of your interest. Readers will find these listings, which will vary from week to week, of continuing interest.

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## BOOKS

Several classifications of books appears each week in this department, but not necessarily the same ones. From time to time, there will be listings of low-priced reprints; old and rare and special book dealers; and notices of related services in the field of publishing.

## ANTHOLOGIES

THE PORTABLE CHEKHOV, *Selected, translated by Avrahm Yarmolinsky, Viking, \$2.* Twenty-eight of his best stories; two of his finest plays complete—*The Cherry Orchard* and *The Boor* plus a selection from his letters.

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## DRAMA

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## HISTORY

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## PSYCHOLOGY

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## PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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## ORGANIZATIONS

This department provides public-minded organizations with an opportunity to state their purposes, announce meetings and activities and advertise their publications.

## MEETINGS

HEAR HENRY WALLACE; Upstate New York Meetings: Syracuse, Dec. 10, 8 p.m., Central High School; Buffalo, Dec. 11, 8 p.m., Kleinhaus Auditorium; Albany, Dec. 12, 8 p.m., Odd Fellows Hall; Rochester, Dec. 16, 8 p.m., Arena. All meetings sponsored by *Progressive Citizens of America, 205 East 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y.*

## PUBLICATIONS

SPOTLIGHT ON THE FAR EAST, monthly, authoritative account of American policy in China and the Far East. Subscription \$1 a year. Write for introductory copy to: *Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 111 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.*

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## RECORDS

Listed below are albums, single records, and catalogs of special interest to New Republic readers.

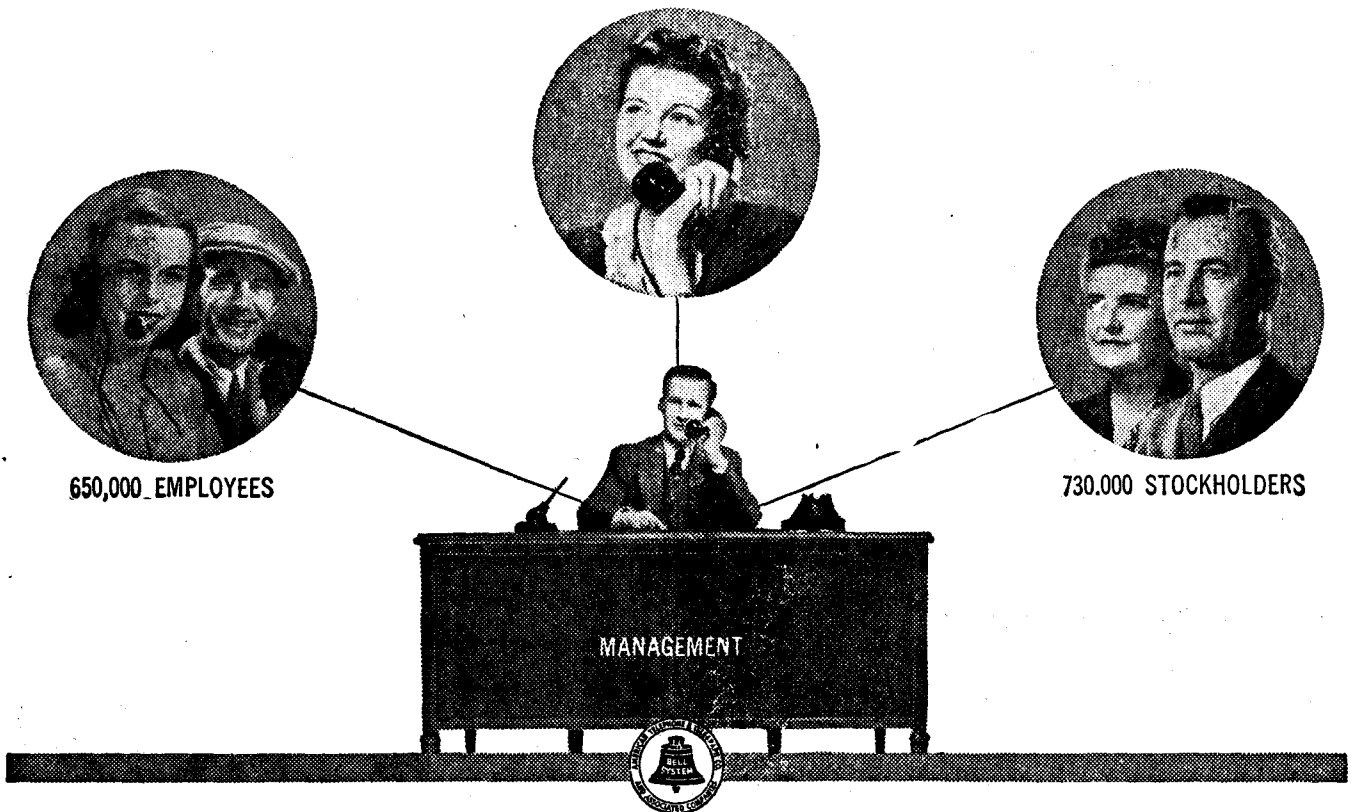
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## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGEMENT IN THE BELL SYSTEM

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This responsibility requires that management act as a trustee for the interest of all concerned: the millions of telephone users, the hundreds of

thousands of employees, and the hundreds of thousands of stockholders. Management necessarily must do the best it can to reconcile the interests of these groups.

Of course, management is not infallible; but with its intimate knowledge of all the factors, management is in a better position than anybody else to consider intelligently and act equitably for each of these groups—and in the Bell System there is every incentive for it to wish to do so.

Certainly in the Bell System there is no reason either to underpay labor or overcharge customers in order to increase the "private profits of private employers," for its profits are limited by regulation. In fact, there is no reason whatever for management to exploit or to favor any one of the three great groups as against the others and to do so would be plain stupid on the part of management.

THE BUSINESS cannot succeed in the long run without well-paid employees with good working conditions, without adequate returns to investors who have put their savings in the enterprise, and without reasonable prices to the cus-

tomers who buy its services. On the whole, these conditions have been well-met over the years in the Bell System.

Admittedly, this has not been and is not an easy problem to solve fairly for all concerned. However, collective bargaining with labor means that labor's point of view is forcibly presented. What the investor must have is determined quite definitely by what is required to attract the needed additional capital, which can only be obtained in competition with other industries.

AND in our regulated business, management has the responsibility, together with regulatory authorities, to see to it that the rates to the public are such as to assure the money, credit and plant that will give the best possible telephone service at all times.

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*Walter S. Gifford*

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